

A HISTORY
OF THE
O'MAHONY SEPTS.

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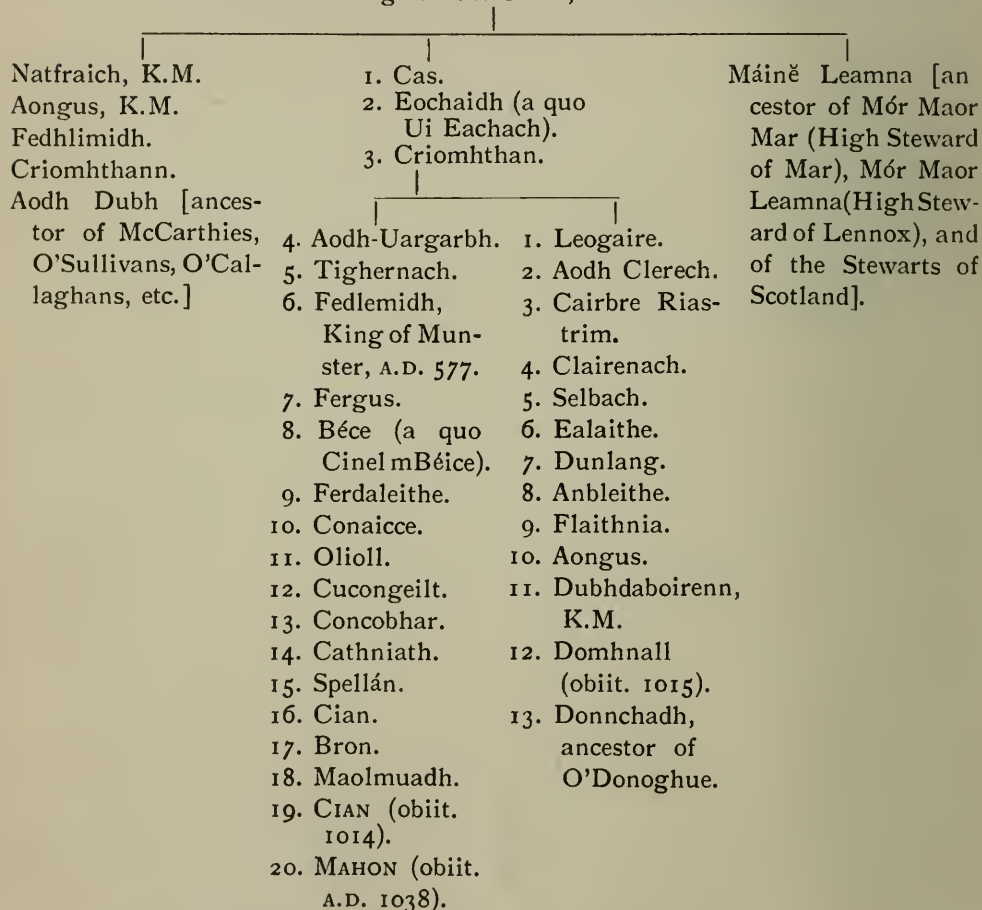


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GENEALOGY OF MAHON AND HIS CORRELATIVES.

(From Dr. J. Henthorn Todd's Ed. of *Wars of the Gael and the Goill*,
With a few corrections and additions in brackets []).

CORC, King of Munster (circ. A.D. 420), fourth in descent from Eoghan Mór,
ancestor of the Eoghanacht Clans, son of Olioll Olum.



(Mathgamhain, ancestor of Ui Mathgamhna, or O'Mahony.)

A History of the O'Mahony Septs of Kinelmeky and Ivagha.

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HOSE who are not familiar with the arguments by which the general credibility of the ancient Irish annals and other records has been established, will doubtless conclude that a tribal history, commencing with the ancestor placed at the head of the Genealogical Table on the opposite page, must have been composed of legendary materials in its earlier portion. A perusal of Dr. O'Donovan's

Introduction to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, pp. xlvi.—liii., or of some recent and more accessible work summarizing the results of the researches of our antiquaries in the last century, will show that the use of letters was known in this country before the time of St. Patrick, that the practice of recording contemporary events in the form of annals is as old as the fifth century, and that the annalists have passed unscathed through the ordeal of having their entries about astronomical phenomena confronted with the results of scientific calculation, thus inspiring confidence in the accuracy of their records of other events. That the life and actions of public men who flourished after the year 400 A.D. may be considered to fall within the authentic portion of Irish history is not now disputed by any critic who has earned for himself a reputation as a specialist in the investigation of that early period.

The Genealogical Registers were authenticated by peculiar circumstances not occurring in our time. Those registers, connecting chieftain and clansmen with a common ancestor in a remote past, originated from the exigencies of the Tribal System. The Tanist Law of succession to the chieftainship, and the Distribution of the Sept Land, presupposed the careful compilation and preservation of a tribal record. It was not as a similar record of a modern family would be, stowed away in the family archives; its contents were, so to speak, public property. An Englishman who visited Ireland in 1672 writes: "The people in general are great admirers of their pedigree, and have got their genealogy so exactly by heart that, though it be two hours' work for them to repeat the names only from whence they are descended lineally, yet will they not omit one word in half a dozen several repetitions."¹

In countries where the tribal stage had been long since passed through and forgotten, and where, moreover, Annals were not in use until some centuries after they were commenced in this country, Irish genealogies beginning with the third or second century were regarded with surprise and distrust. But it is very significant that no such distrust was entertained by Carew and Cox, who, especially the former, were in touch with the tribal system while still a living reality.

¹ "A Tour in Ireland," 1672-4.—*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society*, vol. x. p. 89.

When the dispossessed chieftains of South Munster and their relatives, in the seventeenth century, took refuge in France, Spain, and Austria, they were careful to take with them documentary proofs that they held the rank of nobles in their own land. They obtained in their adopted countries a recognition of their status, an indispensable requisite in that period of unjust monopolies, for promotion in the military and diplomatic services to which many of them successfully aspired. To comply with the condition required from Frenchmen by the Heralds of Louis XIV. for enrolment among the noblesse, viz., that some one in a line of ancestors should have been designated by a name implying nobility, in a public record of a date preceding A.D. 1400, presented no difficulty to the exiled chiefs. But the Heralds of Louis cut off many centuries from their antiquity. They declined to follow the descendants of Corc, King of Munster, to a date that would precede that accepted for the house of Montmorency (1028), and even that of the house of Bourbon (776). They would not go back to the commanders who led their clans to Clontarf, but arbitrarily fixed on A.D. 1200 as the limit; and accepting the evidence of the Irish records for the next successor to a chieftaincy after that date, placed in the roll of the French nobility "McCarthy de Reagh, 1209," and "O'Mahoni de Carbrye, A.D. 1220."

For the compilation of a tribal history the genealogical list is, of course, necessary material; indeed it must be the framework, the backbone of the history. But, as has been already stated, it was compiled for a practical and not for a historical purpose. From the point of view of the historian the Genealach labours under several defects. It gives no date; and the time when any person mentioned in it flourished can only be known from his place in the pedigree compared with some historical landmark, or must be ascertained from some other source. It does not give the names of females, and thus no account is kept of the intermarriages between families belonging to different tribes. It does not indicate the names of the chiefs (as such); any one of them who left no son gets no place in the list. Only in those rare instances (as in the case of the Western O'Mahonys after A.D. 1513), when succession by Tanist law was set aside by an influential ruler of a sept, does the genealogical list become also a list of chieftains.

The important information omitted by the Ollaves and Shanachies, who put together the pedigrees, is supplied by the Annals, by the biographies of the Saints in incidental references to their contemporaries, and by the Bards. Fortunately it was the custom, when a name of any important person was mentioned by Annalist, Hagiographer, or Bard, to define him by giving the names of his father and grandfather, and sometimes his great-grandfather. For more recent times State Papers, especially "Inquisitions," give useful information.

Though for the purpose of this Record a very considerable stock of information is forthcoming from the above-mentioned sources, the present writer has to lament the loss of special authorities extant when Dr. Smith wrote his *History of Cork*. The principal of these was the "Saltair of Rosbrin," a genealogical poem on the O'Mahonys by a bard attached to Rosbrin Castle. As this was probably written in or soon after the time of Finin O'Mahon, chieftain of Rosbrin, A.D. 1496, described in the *Annals of Loch Ce* and of the Four Masters as one of the most learned men of his time, it would, doubtless, have given the substance of what

his historical collection would have contained about the sept. This has been sought for in vain; and in all probability it was taken over to the Continent, as were many other historical documents, when the leading members of the ruined clans betook themselves to France and Spain after 1657. The other lost document, also sought for without success, is the "Book of Timoleague," which would have given the names of the chiefs of Kinelmeky who were buried in that abbey (*Annals Four Masters*, 1240). That it gave such obits is known from extracts contained in a document about the De Courceys, preserved in Ware's collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Of the accounts written in English on the present subject, either ex professo in special chapters or articles, or incidentally in treating of other tribes or of county topography, there is not one that is not disfigured by many erroneous statements. Cronnelly's special account, though creditable to one who has made the attempt under great difficulties, is meagre and inaccurate. O'Hart gives a translation of the pedigrees in the Royal Irish Academy MSS., but his accompanying observations are inaccurate and uncritical. The Lambeth pedigree of the Western chiefs (Sir George Carew's) is altogether incorrect for the period between Mahon (ob. 1038) and Dermod Mor (circa 1320). So is the pedigree of the Heralds' College, inserted by Dr. Copinger in the new edition of Smith's *History of Cork*, and the "notes" accompanying it (also by the Heralds' College). In Bennett's *History of Bandon* there is, as will be shown, what seems a deliberate invention intended to belittle the sept that preceded the new occupiers of Kinelmeky. And two articles that appeared in previous volumes of this *Journal* contain statements about the sept that will be shown to rest on entirely insufficient grounds. Hence a narrative that might, under other circumstances, be continuous, must be frequently interrupted by refutation of errors that have been allowed to hold their ground long enough.

I.—THE HEREDITARY SURNAME.

O Mātḡamīna, or as it was anglicised down to, and during, the Elizabethan period, O'Mahon, was derived from Mahon (Mātḡamīn, genitive case Mātḡamīna), the son of Cian and Sabia (Sāb), daughter of Brian Boru. Cian and Brian's daughter were married in 979, the year after the battle fought at Βελαδ-λεαδτα, near Macroom, in which Brian was victorious, and his opponent, Μαιρμυαδ, the father of Cian, was defeated and killed. Mahon was thus of Eoghanacht and Dalcassian origin; and the marriage of his parents was intended to promote and secure peace between the rival races, that Brian might be free to proceed with the ambitious design of obtaining the sovereignty of Ireland. The marriage is alluded to in Dr. O'Brien's *Annals of Innisfallen* (A.D. 1014), and by Γιωττα Καομ, a contemporary poet, in his description of Cian's residence, Rath-Raithleann, which shall be quoted later on. As Mahon's ancestors, Corc and Fedlimidh, were Kings of Munster, and as his grandfather is also placed in the list of Munster Kings in the *Book of Leinster* (written 1166) the sept which bore his name was described as of royal origin by the ancient genealogists. This was known to the Anglo-Irish writers Sir Richard Cox and Smith. The former, after

saying that the family or descendants of Mahon "are to be reckoned among the best families in Ireland," adds,² "for Kean Mac Moylemore (recte Maolmuadh) married Sarah, daughter of Brian Boru, and his son, Mahon, was ancestor of all the Mahonys. It is from this Kean that Inniskean derives its name, and from the Mahonies Droghid-I-Mahoun, or Bandon Bridge." See also Smith's *History of Cork*, book i., ch. i., p. 13, new ed. A considerable period elapsed after the death of Mahon (1038, *Annals Four Masters*) before his name became the hereditary surname of his descendants.

It ought not to be necessary at the present day to discuss the opinion which at one time prevailed owing to the authority of Keating³—that it was in Brian's time and by virtue of an ordinance of his that surnames were assumed in Ireland. The author of a recent book on Irish Antiquities does not seem to be aware that Dr. O'Donovan refuted this opinion in a series of articles in the *Dublin Penny Journal* in 1841. Indeed, elaborate refutation might have been spared, for it is obvious that if Brian issued such an ordinance it would have been observed by himself, his sons, and those connected with him; and thus he would be called MacKennedy or O'Lorcan, and his sons by the same surname; or if he selected his own name to be permanent, his sons' would be Mac Brian, but by no means O'Brian; and Mahon would be Mac Kean or O'Maolmuadh; or if he imposed his own name or his sons', they and their descendants would be Mac Mahon. Ua, or O, grandson, would not be applied to a son. The opinion of Keating was an erroneous inference from the fact that the great majority of Irish surnames are derived from chiefs who were contemporaries of Brian. Or, to speak more precisely, the surnames are derived from the genitive case of the names of those chiefs, i.e., not from *Carthac*, but from *Carthais*, not from *Maetsamain*, but from *Maetsamna*. But we have no evidence that, in the generation immediately after Brian, the O and Mac prefixed to a name had the effect of a permanent surname.

Mr. MacCarthy Glas's assertion that "the son of Carthach in 1045 assumed the surname borne by his descendants" is an illogical inference from the solitary passage in the *Annals*—"Muiredach, son of Carthach, died 1092." What evidence, then, would shew that a certain surname had been adopted at a particular date? If an Annalist, accurately transcribing a record contemporary with a certain chief, described, for instance, the great-grandson of Mahon as O'Mahouna, or the grandson of Carthach as MacCarthaigh, in such cases only would O and Mac be shown to be employed in a new sense extended beyond their ordinary meaning in a prose chronicle. If the entry in the *Annals of Innisfallen* (Dublin copy) for the year 1135 be an exact copy of an original written in that year, we should say that Cian (the second), great-grandson of Mahon, was the first designated by the surname: "Cian, son of Donogh Donn, son of Brodchon, O'Mahony, was killed at the battle of Cloneinagh."⁴ But this question is not of much importance.

From the O'Mahonys, descendants of Mahon, son of Cian and Sabia,

² See Cox's *Regnum Corcagiense*.

³ More accurate than Keating, but still partly mistaken, was the author of an old Irish MS. *Life of Brian* (a fragment T.C.D., II 2, 15): "It was in his time that surnames were given." *Tucan plóinnne ar tur.*

⁴ Near Mountrath.

daughter of Brian, are to be distinguished the O'Mahonys of Uladh, Ulidia (Co. Down), about whom there are several entries in the *Annals* in the twelfth century—the last in 1149—after which they disappear from history. They are supposed to have become Mac Mahons, Maughons, and Matthews,⁵ which names are still found in that locality. Some of them must have gone over to Scotland in the frequent migrations that took place to that country in ancient times; certainly Sir Walter Scott found the name in the Highlands, for a "Dugald Mahony" figures in his *Waverley*. The identity of many surnames in the North with those in the South of Ireland has often led to erroneous conclusions. The O'Neills of the South, in the Dalcassian territory, were a different race from the great clan of Tyrone; and the Northern Mac Mahons, O'Connors, O'Callaghans, O'Murchoes (Murphys), are from ancestors totally different from those of their Southern namesakes.

But after the descendants of Mahon commenced to bear his name as a surname, the Tribe-name continued to be what it had been for six centuries. In the wide Sept-land, extending, as we shall show, from "Carn Ui Neid (the Mizen Head) to Cork," over which Mahon and his predecessors ruled, there were many thousand families connected with their head by the bond of a common descent from more or less remote ancestors. The descendants of these tribesmen would not be entitled to take, or perhaps desire to take, the name of the ruling family, implying as it did a descent from one who was not their ancestor. The distinction between the chief's surname and the Tribal Name is distinctly brought out in the entry in the *Annals of Innisfallen* under the year 1171: "Ooñcá O Mačšamna an doib-eacac," Donogh O'Mahony over the Ui-Eacac." Slowly and gradually, in the course of some centuries, each individual member of his tribe began to describe himself by the surname at first confined to the chief's family. It would be unreasonable to suppose that the numerous families of the tribe, distinct from Mahon's, that lived in 1035, had no descendants living in the seventeenth century. And, accordingly, it would seem then that the hereditary surname does not imply that each one who bears it descends from the son of Cian, which can be established only by proving descent from a chief or chief's relatives at the time of the disruption of the sept. The same observation applies, of course, to other Irish septs, and to the bearers of the name of the Anglo-Irish families. The Norman nobles had thousands of Irish kern as their retainers; these gradually began to be called by the name of their feudal lord, and became the ancestors of numbers who now bear English names and think themselves of English descent.

II.

The Sept-name,⁶ which, as has been already said, preceded by nearly six centuries the assumption of the Surname, was

Ui Eacac Muman, CLAN EOCHY OF MUNSTER.

This was derived from an ancestor, Eacacir, Eochy, who flourished about 475, a grandson of Corc, and a cousin-german of Aengus, King of

⁵ *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. i. p. 247.

⁶ Mr. H. W. Gillman has called attention to the superior antiquity of the O'Mahonys as compared with the other Eoganacht clans descended from Corc.—*Cork Arch. Journal*, vol. iii., 2nd series, p. 207.

Cashel. The posterity of Eochy detached themselves from the main body of the Eoganachta, or descendants of Eoghan Mor, and formed a separate clan. They acquired the name of Eoganacht Ui Eacac, the first of the many subdenominations of the generic name that were given to clans of the correlatives according as they acquired a separate existence. The clan's rapid advance to power and influence is evidenced by the fact that the grandson of Eochy, and son of Criomthan, Cairbre Crom,⁷ became King of Munster, and the fourth in descent, Fedlimidh, obtained the same coveted dignity. Evidence of the important position which the clan continued to maintain is afforded by a passage in the *Wars of the Gael and the Goill*, p. 19 (year 845): "The men of the South of Erin (not 'South Munster') gave battle to the Danes under Doncha, prince of the Ui Eachach." The chieftainship was always held by one of the line of Mahon's ancestors. Dr. O'Donovan says: "Ui-Eachach, i.e., the descendants of Eochaid, son of Cas, son of Corc, King of Munster. The Ui-Mathghamhna, or O'Mahonys, were the chief family of this race. They were seated in the barony of Kinelmeky, in the county of Cork, but they afterwards encroached on the Corca-Laighe, and became masters of the district called Fonn-Iartharach, i.e., western land."⁸ In process of time, the Tribe became divided into two branches—virtually distinct tribes—but for many centuries comprehended under the old sept-name, Ui Eacach or Clan Eochy. To Criomthán, son of Eochy, two sons were born, Aedh and Laegaire. Nurtured by the same foster-father, Lugaid, the youths grew up with such strangely different dispositions that by an expressive but most unpleasant metaphor, it was said that "Lugaid reared Aedh on blood and Laegaire on milk." The metaphor passed, after a time, into mythology, an illustration of Max Muller's "Myths from disease of Language," and it was gravely recorded that Lugaid "the double-breasted" nursed one child with blood and the other with milk in the literal sense of the words. A genealogical fragment⁹ in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin—an excerpt in a miscellany of the Firbisses—recording the story by way of annotation on the Ui Eachach pedigree, concludes: "Each of the youths took after his nurture, and the Cinel Aedh were fierce in war and the Cinel Laegaire thrifty and careful." The Cinel Laegaire in after ages, when surnames were established, became known as O'Donoghue. From Aedh, who was in the line of Mahon's ancestors, and who from his overbearing character was called "Aedh Uargarbh," descended the elder branch, the

⁷ Cairbre, son of Criomphthan (otherwise spelled Creamthain). The above assertion is, of course, disputable, as there were many Criomphthans in those early centuries. But it will be shown later on, that chronological reasons require that Criomphthan, father of Cairbre, should be the son of Eochaid, son of Cas.

⁸ O'Donovan's Edition of the *Book of Rights*. See also his notes to poem from "Saltair na Rann," in Prof. Kelly's *Cambriensis Eversus*, vol. ii. p. 778.

⁹ ΛΥΓΑΙΟ ΕΙΧΕΧ ΗΟ ΑΙΤ ΤΑ ΜΑΕ ΚΡΙΟΜΕΘΑΙΝΗ ΜΑΙΕ ΕΑΕΑΕ ΜΑΙΕ ΚΑΙΡ ΜΑΙΕ ΚΥΙΡΕ .Ι. ΔΟΟ ΟΥΡ ΛΟΖΑΙΡΕ ΡΟΙ Α ΕΙΕΙΒ. ΒΑ ΤΕΑΙΝΔΕΤ ΤΟ ΒΕΡΕΥ ΤΟ ΛΟΖ(ΑΙΡΕ) ΑΡ Α ΕΙΕ, ΟΥΡ ΒΑ ΡΥΙΤ ΤΟ ΒΕΡΕΥ ΤΟ ΔΟΟ, ΚΟΠΙΟΖΑΒ ΕΑΕ ΑΡ ΡΙΝ, ΑΡ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΙΡΖΙΟ ΡΟΙ ΚΙΝΑΙ ΝΔΟΘΑ ΟΥΡ ΡΟΝΥΡ ΡΟΙ ΕΙΝΕΛ ΛΟΖΑΙΡΕ. For this extract the writer is indebted to Mr. John MacNeill, B.A., the distinguished Irish scholar and historical critic.

CINEL AEDH

(whence Kinalea), or the race of Aedh, the first distinctive name of the sept long afterwards known as O'Mahony. This name was preserved in the language of genealogists when for public use it was superseded by the name derived from Mahon, son of Cian. A genealogical register¹⁰ of the family in the R. I. Academy, transcribed from a very ancient one—of which the archaic quatrain it embodies is evidence—commences with the heading—Cinel doṡḁ ann ro p̄ior, "here follows the race of Aedh," i.e., the O'Mahonys.

That the Cinel Aedh was the elder branch is shown by the collocation of the names, Aedh first, then Laegaire

- (1) In the genealogical fragment just quoted;
- (2) In the Irish *Life of St. Senanus*, a very ancient biography published in Stokes' *Anecdota Oxoniensia*;
- (3) In the poem of St. Colman quoted in the foregoing "Life";¹¹
- (4) In the line of Aedh continued the chieftainship and the title of Ri Rathleann. The son of Aedh bears that designation in the ancient *Life of St. Finbar*, of which more later on.

The head of the other branch was designated, down to the time when surnames were assumed, as "Chief, or Prince, of the Cinel Laegaire." The subsequent history of this warlike sept (O'Donoghue) by no means bears out the forecast formed from the disposition attributed to its ancestor.

It is nothing short of marvellous that during the course of many centuries, when fierce contentions raged everywhere around them, the two branches of the Ui Eachach Mumhan should have preserved unbroken the unity of their tribe until the fatal day after the battle of Clontarf, when they "met in one camp" for the last time (*Wars of the Gael and the Goill*, Dr. Todd's edition, p. 215).

III.—THE TERRITORY OF THE TRIBE.

The "Cradle of the Race" was Rath Rathleann, with its numerous surrounding raths, that constituted an ancient tribal town, situate in the present Barony of Kinelmeky, near its northern and eastern boundaries.

This rath was the seat of Corc, who bestowed it, when he selected Cashel as the royal residence, on his second son, Cas, the father of the eponymous ancestor of the Ui Eachach, with the title of Ri Raithleann and perpetual exemption from tribute, as laid down in the *Book of Rights*:

"The Clan of Cas is not liable
To the tribute of Cashel of the companies :
It is not due from Glen Amhain,
Nor from red Raithleann."¹²

¹⁰ MS. 23 G. 22 R.I.A.

¹¹ In the ancient Latin Lives of St. Senanus, the order of the names is "Aidus and Leogarius."—See Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, March 8th. As St. Colman, son of Leinin, according to the *Four Masters*, died in A.D. 600, his testimony is that of a *contemporary*. Mr. O'Hart makes Laegaire the elder, but "more suo" quotes no authority.

¹² Glen Amhain, when these lines were written, must have been in the possession of a clan of the race of Cas. It afterwards belonged to the O'Keeffes, and finally became Roche's country.

The extent of territory which was left with the Fort to Cas must have been considerable, as the designation of Ri, though rather prodigally bestowed in ancient Ireland, was never given to the chiefs of a small district. The original territory was increased by subsequent acquisitions until the Sept-land in the ninth century included the following:—

Kinelea and Kinelmeky.—The Tribe name, Cinel Aodha (above explained) became a territorial name designating the entire of the district afterwards called by the names of Kinelea and Kinelmeky. The name Cinel-mBeice, "the race of Béce,"¹³ fourth in descent from Aedh, did not become a territorial one until a later period. When Kinelea Citra (the modern barony of Kinelea) and Kinelea Ultra (identified with Kinelmeky) were appointed Deaneries of the Diocese of Cork, those very names presupposed Kinelea as the general name of the district thus divided for ecclesiastical purposes. The old Rolls of the diocese of Cork¹⁴ showed that "the Barony of Kinelmeky was included in (recte was identical with) the Deanery of Kinelea Ultra." As the race of Aedh unquestionably lived in "Kinelea Ultra," it was the same race that gave its name to Kinelea Citra before those ecclesiastical appellations came into use. The place name, Kilmahonoge, Coill *ματσημνα οἰς*, "the wood of young Mahon," in the present Barony of Kinalea, is a survival from the eleventh century.¹⁵

Carbery.—In his *Regnum Corcagiense*, Sir Richard Cox, who consulted and often refers to Irish antiquaries, writes: "This noble country formerly belonged to the O'Mahonys and the O'Driscolls. One branch was called O'Mahown Carbery, and his seat was Castle Mahon, which was then part of Carbery." This is not quite exact, as that castle was in Kinelmeky, which, as has been shown, was a more recent name of a division of Kinelea. The name Carbery, according to Irish usage, did not comprise Corca Laidhe, the patrimony of the O'Driscolls since the dawn of history, nor Ivagha, when that district was detached from Corca Laidhe. In the poem of Mac Brody on the Eoghanacht Clans, and in those of other bards, Carbery is expressly distinguished from the two other place-names. As to the origin of the name, all Irish antiquaries concurred in deriving it from Cairbre (Riada), a contemporary of Olioll Olum, in the last quarter of the second century. In the nineteenth century the novel opinion was started, without any pretence of support

[Carbery must have been occupied by the tribe of the Ui-Eachach Mumhan before their occupation of Ivagha, which they could invade only through Carbery; this they would not venture to do, or be allowed to do, if the inhabitants of Carbery were not first subdued.]"

¹³ Smith's derivation of Kinelmeky (Ken, "a head," neal, "noble," and mecan, a "root"), copied by Bennett (*Hist. Bandon*), is obviously an impossible one. Kinel, a race, followed by the name of an ancestor, forms many tribe names in every part of Ireland. He had evidently not seen the name written in Irish.

¹⁴ Bishop Lyon, who had access to the archives, in 1588 wrote on this subject—"My Rolls prove the Barony of Kinelmeky to be in the Deanery of Kinelea ultra.—*Calendar of State Papers*, A.D. 1588.

¹⁵ Dr. O'Donovan, in his edition of O'Heerin, not knowing that Cinel Aodha was the tribe-name of the O'Mahonys, explained the place-name Kinelea as derived from Aedh Dubh, ancestor of the McCarthys, O'Sullivan's, and O'Callaghans, and hence accepted the apparent meaning of O'Heerin's quatrain, that the latter sept was in Kinelea. But as Dr. O'Donovan declared the latter half of this quatrain—making the same sept live in Bearra—to be "a mistake," this self-contradictory passage of O'Heerin is no authority for any statement. Perhaps O'Heerin intended to speak of O'Sullivan "of the Cinel Aedh (Dubh)," who lived in Bearra, and that by a *lapsus calami* he substituted the name of the other tribe.

from historical testimony, that the name was imported by the Hy Cairbre Aedha, or O'Donovans, when migrating from Hy Fidgiente, Co. Limerick, to their new tribe land in West Cork, after the English invasion. The editor of *Annals of the Four Masters*, lapsing in this instance from that habit of keen criticism which is so conspicuous in his works, gave some countenance to this new opinion, but with evident misgivings. "The extension of the name," he says (beyond the tribal territory) "looks strange enough, as it took place since the year 1200, and as the race that transferred it did not remain (recte never was) the dominant family in the district."¹⁶ It is not only improbable but impossible that any tribe occupying a small corner of a large territory could by habitually using a name of their choice get the name adopted in the larger territories of their long-established neighbours, and that they could succeed in doing so in about twenty years. For the name, Cairbreach, an adjective derived from Cairbre, was borne by O'Mahon in A.D. 1220, according to the historical proofs furnished to the French Heralds (see p. 184 ante) and as may be inferred from the entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1240, about the tomb of O'M. Cairbreach in Timoleague Abbey. And according to the Bodleian *Annals of Innisfallen*, Donal Got McCarthy, assumed that name in A.D. 1232. Though the place-name Carbery does not occur in the *Annals* before the above dates, the present writer has found it in the *Book of Leinster*, in the portion which contains a copy of part of the *War of the Gael and the Goill*, chap xxviii. : "There came a great fleet of the foreigners with Ragnall and Ottir, the Earl . . . and they divided and ravaged Carbery and Muskerry between them, and one-third of them went to Corcach (Cork)." The *Book of Leinster* was written about A.D. 1166, and this portion was, of course, transcribed from a more ancient copy of an original commonly held to have been written by a contemporary of Brian Boru. See Dr. Todd's Introduction to *Ivars of the Gael*, page xii. The name Carbery may have originated from Cairbre (son of Creamthan), who was King of Munster, according to the *Four Masters*, in A.D. 571.

Ivagha, or the Fonn Iartharach, "Western Land."—"Long before the English Invasion," says Dr. O'Donovan, "the Ui Eachach Mumhan, or O'Mahonys, had from the Corca Laidhe that portion of their territory called Fonn Iartharach, i.e., West Land, otherwise Ivagha, comprising the parishes of Kilmoe, Scoole, Kilcrohane, Durris, Kilmaconoge, and Caharagh." It would have been foreign to his subject to quote the authorities which justified that statement. The following passages, brought forward for the first time by the present writer, prove conclusively that Ivagha was in the possession of the sept of the Ui Eachach in the ninth century.

(1) In a poem of Mac Liag, Brian Boru's bard, Cian is described as "Cian an Cairn," i.e., of Carn Ui Neid, the Mizen Head. Giolla Caomh, a bard of the eleventh century, who flourished about 1050, refers to Cian as the "chief king of the hosts of Carn Ui Neid."

(2) In the "Saltair na Rann,"¹⁷ there is a poem on the Patron Saints

¹⁶ Appendix to last vol. of the *Four Masters*.

¹⁷ The poem from which the above is an extract is not found in the MS. of the *Saltair na Rann*, which Stokes edited, but was in the copy used by Keating and Colgan. See the former on the reign of Aedh Mac Ainmire, and the latter, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 646. They both expressly attribute this poem to Angus Céle Dé, who is known to have lived in the first half of the

of the different tribes, which may be found at the end of vol. ii. of Professor Kelly's edition of *Cambrensis Eversus*. In it we read: "The Ui Eachach, from Carn Ui Neid to Cork, are under the protection of Barra (St. Finbar)." On this passage Dr. O'Donovan supplied the following note: "Carn Ui Neid, the Mizzen Head."

(3) In the *Vision of Mac Conglinne* the hero of that ancient tale is represented as going from Cork in quest of Cahal Mac Finguine, King of Munster, "to the West, to the residence of Pican, King of the Ui Eachach at Dun Coba,¹⁸ at the boundary between the Ui Eachach and the Corca Laidhe. He offered to cure the King of Munster of a malady from which he suffered, and the prince of the Ui Eachach promises him a reward of 'a sheep from every fold from Carn to Cork.'"

Some observations must now be made on the age of the *Vision of Mac Conglinne*. The *Annals of the Four Masters* record the death of Cathal, son of Finguinne, King of Munster, in the year A.D. 737. "There is little doubt" (wrote the translator, Dr. O'Donovan), "from the obsolete language and style of this tract, the *Vision of Mac Conglinne*, that it was written in or shortly after Cathal's time. It contains some curious details of social habits and of historical and topographical facts, &c.

According to this judgment on the antiquity of the "Vision" by one whose authority stands even higher on questions of language than on questions of historical criticism, it is clear that A.D. 800 would be too recent a date to assign for the seizure of the western territory by the clan of the Ui Eachach. Later criticism is far from invalidating O'Donovan's decision. Professor Kuno Meyer, in his edition of 1892, discusses the question whether the language gives an indication of the date of this curious work. He answers: "In the absence of any published investigation on the characteristics of the Irish language at different periods, I cannot speak with certainty." But, nevertheless, following the traditions of German criticism, he tries to find an original and a superinduced part, and says: "In some form or other, the tale is proved to be older than the Leabhar Breac version of it," whose date he fixes "at the end of the twelfth century." There are, he thinks, "some forms in the language that belong to the twelfth century,"¹⁹

ninth century. There is intrinsic evidence that it dates from a time when the Eoganacht tribes (with the exception of the Ui Eachach) had not begun to occupy any part of the present Co. Cork. The poem says, "The Munstermen of Eoghan's race, to their borders, are under Ailbe's protection," i.e., in the territory comprised in the dioceses of Emly and Cashel, parts of Limerick and Tipperary.

¹⁸ Rath Raithlean was his principal residence, but every Ri was assumed by the Brehon law to have three Duns.—See Dr. Sullivan's Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of Ancient Irish*.

¹⁹ The passage about the "King of the Ui Eachach," will serve as a specimen of the obsolete form of the Irish language in which the book was written:—

"imthig rochechta do raigne Cathal!"
 "Cia hainm i ríl Cathal?" ar Mac
 Conglinne. "In hainm," ol Manchin. "i
 raigne pichan meic moile finde ius hua
 n-eachach ic Dun Choba i coicich nua n
 eachach ocuf Corca Laidhe; ocuf rochpí
 innocht connice inoipín."

"Now go at once to Cathal!" "Where is
 Cathal?" asked Mac Conglinne. "Not hard
 to tell," answered Manchin. "In the house
 of Pichan, son of Mael Find, King of Ivagha,
 at Dun Coba in the borders of Ivagha and
 Corcalee, and thou must journey thither to-
 night."

as if there were any ancient works whose grammatical forms transcribers did not modernize here and there. Not satisfied with this kind of argument, he proceeds to confirm it by an argument which is still weaker. The vagrant hero of the tale sarcastically offers the monks of Cork tithes on his bit of bread and bacon, and therefore "the work was written after 1152, when Cardinal Paparo, in the Synod of Kells, got the tithes enforced." But were not tithes in use in Ireland before? Yes, he admits, "they were mentioned earlier." This is understating the fact; tithes were not only *mentioned* but *prescribed* in the Brehon Law (see *Brehon Laws*, iii., 33, 39, 25), and we may presume that that regulation was not allowed to be forgotten. Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, speaks of them as ordinarily paid in A.D. 1090. So the author of the tale could be perfectly familiar with the exaction of tithes long before the twelfth century, and whenever he lived, he must have believed that the Clan Eochy occupied their western land in the time of Cathal, A.D. 735.

In full harmony with the above testimonies is the statement in the *Wars of the Gael and the Goill*, page 137 (Dr. Todd's edition) that "Brian sent forth a naval expedition upon the sea, namely, the Gaill of Ath Cliath and Port Láirgé (Dublin and Waterford), and the Ui Eachach Mumhan, and of such men of Erin as were fit to go to sea." This plainly implies a large sea coast in their territory. How considerable their contingent was may be inferred from the following passage in the same page of the work quoted: "And Brian distributed the tribute according to rights . . . he gave a third of the tribute to the warriors of Leinster and of the Ui Eachach Mumhan." The fleet must have largely consisted of the forces which his son-in-law, Cian, sent from the region of "Carn Ui Neid."

With the conclusion arrived at as to the date of the occupation of Ivagha, from the historical testimonies above quoted, the reader may now compare two conclusions that have been arrived at by two other writers, apparently by an easier process:

(1) The author of the "Barony of Carbery," in a former number of the *Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal*, vol. x., 1904 writes: "The O'Mahonys *had begun* to make conquests in the west before the English Invasion." And again: "The English drove the O'Mahonys to the west." The same writer's opinion about the origin of the name Carbery has been already refuted.

(2) The author of the "Pedigree of the O'Mahonys," with notes appended, from the Herald's College, published in the new edition of Smith's *History of Cork*, informs us that "Carew (i.e., the Marquis Carew) did make O'Mahon Lord of Ivagha." Dermot Mor, the O'Mahon referred to, was the ninth in descent from an ancestor who was called chief of that region long before the name of Carew appeared in any written document. There is no other authority than this writer for the assertion that "the O'Mahonys (and O'Driscolls) paid rent to the Norman invader," an assertion repeated in the "Notes on Carbery." The time at last came when they had to pay rent to the invaders, but it did not come for some centuries. It is not credible that the Englishman in Dublin, who in 1600 wrote this pedigree and notes, ever heard any "O'Mahons admit that they held their lands from Carew," or that he (the writer) ever was in communication with any member of the sept about

their genealogy, otherwise he would not have represented them as descended from "Keynek of Kelether in Munster."

The eastern boundary of the Sept Land.—This was Cork, as appears from some of the testimonies above given and from an ancient Litany²⁰ containing an invocation of the saints of Lough Irke, "in finibus Muscragiae et nepotum Eochadii Cruadh," i.e., at the boundaries of the Muscraighe (tribes) and of the descendants of Eochy—the Ui Eachach. This preserves an epithet of Eochy not given elsewhere, Cruadh, the hard, the severe. Lough Irke, or Eirce, meant²¹ the expansion of the Lee at Cork before the course of the river was confined within banks in after centuries. The eastern and western boundaries of the tribe land coincided with the eastern and western limits of the Diocese of Cork—"ab ipsa Corcagia usque ad Carninedam"—as defined in the decrees of the Synod of Rathbreasail,²² A.D. 1110. In the ancient *Life of St. Senanus* Inniscarra is described as belonging to the "King of Raithleann," whose Muskerry possessions, afterwards divided among minor septs of the clan, may be seen in one of the maps of the *Pacata Hibernia* under the names of "Ifflonlua (recte Ui Flonn Lua), Clan Conogher, and Clan Fynin" (Fineen). Smith takes Ui Flonn Lua in a wider meaning to include the parishes of Kilmurry, Moviddy, Canovee, and Aglish, and states that all these districts had been conquered at a remote day by Flann, an ancestor [predecessor] of Bece. The present writer has been unable to find any record of this Flann, except the lines quoted by Smith²³ from an Irish MS., possibly the Psalter of Rossbrin, that genealogical poem that has been sought for in vain. The quaint old quatrain gives an account of the boundaries of the district which Flann acquired by conquest, and declares that "he paid no tribute but to the Church." One

²⁰ In the *Acta Martyrum, Liturgica, etc.*, per H. Vardeum (Ward), Louvain, A.D. 1662, p. 204, Ward maintains that this *Litania* was of the 9th century, or at latest the 10th.

²¹ So Sir James Ware. Dr. Caulfield was mistaken in identifying it with the lake at Gougane Barra.

²² See Dr. Lynch's version of Keating's account of this Synod, *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii. app.

²³ The lines were in the Dán Díreach metre, but must have been incorrectly transcribed by Smith, as the first two do not rhyme, and there is some omission in the third:—

O Glairc cruíthe fuair Flann
na cíocha thuais ardeorinn
maí ar íthais cuan achíor
San chíor uatha ach veasglair.

These simple lines were translated by Smith with all the pomp of eighteenth century poetical diction:—

West from the stream of Gaiscricthe brook,
To Muskery's paps, where holy Patrick struck
His crozier; thence unto the southern main
The conquering Flann o'er all this tract did reign.
No rent, no tribute, for this land he paid,
But to the Church alone, his offering made.

The Four Masters, A.D. 747, have the entry: "Flann, son of Ceallach, lord of Muskerry died." He must have been a grandson or great-grandson of the Flann who is the subject of the foregoing verse.

of the boundaries given in the verses was Glaise Crithe, a stream not identified.

From the description of the Sept Land it will be seen that it was of great extent. Indeed it would appear that "Eoganacht Raithleann," or Eoghanacht Ui Eachach," as it was also called, exceeded in extent Eoganacht Cashel or any other Eoghanacht, i.e., tribe-land of any clan descended from Eoghan Mor.

IV.—RATH RAITHLEAN,

the "cradle of the race," was also the headquarters of the full-grown sept. The name is a genitive, from a nominative Raithliu, in old Irish; so Whitley Stokes acutely conjectured from analogy, and tradition has confirmed his opinion, as there is evidence that one aged "Shanachie," who died some thirty years ago, used the name Rathliu as a nominative. Nevertheless, there are some instances of the use of Raithleann as a nominative; in the transitions, from one period of the language to another, genitives have occasionally started as nominatives—set up for themselves in fact—just as the Latin ablatives did when Latin was passing into Italian. A legendary account has been given of the application of the name to the fort. It was the name of King Corc's nurse, and, as he was leaving for Cashel, she requested, and her request was granted, that the Fort should bear her name. This reminds one of Virgil's "Aeneia nutrix," who gave her name to Caieta (Gaeta). This residence was associated in the verses of the bards with two names especially, the name of Corc, its traditional builder, and the name of his descendant, Cian.

"Rat Raitlean, Rat Cuirc 'r Céim,"!

a line of Giolla Caomh in the eleventh century is found as a quotation in subsequent bards, and in a poem by one of the last of the old tribal bards, Donal McCarthy (na thuile), in 1719. The Chief who resided in it, being head of the whole sept, always received the denomination of Rí Rathleann, "Rex Rathlendiae" and "Rathluyniae" in the Latin Lives of the ancient Irish Saints. He is several times referred to in the *Book of Rights* (Leabhar na g-ceart, edited by O'Donovan), in which are set forth the usages that regulated the relations of provincial kings towards the chiefs of their provinces down to the Norman period. One passage has already been quoted, page 189. In another he is called the King of "great Ui Eachach," and in the following passage his privilege of exemption from tribute is affirmed:

"There are three Kings of great Munster
Whose tribute to Cashel is not due—
The King of Gowran, whose hostages can't be seized,
The Kings of Raithlean and of Lough Lein."

A few years ago it would have been impossible to give a historical description of this Rath and its surroundings. But in September, 1896, the Editor of the *Gaelic Journal* published from a MS. in the possession of Count Plunkett (there is another in the R. I. Academy) four poems of

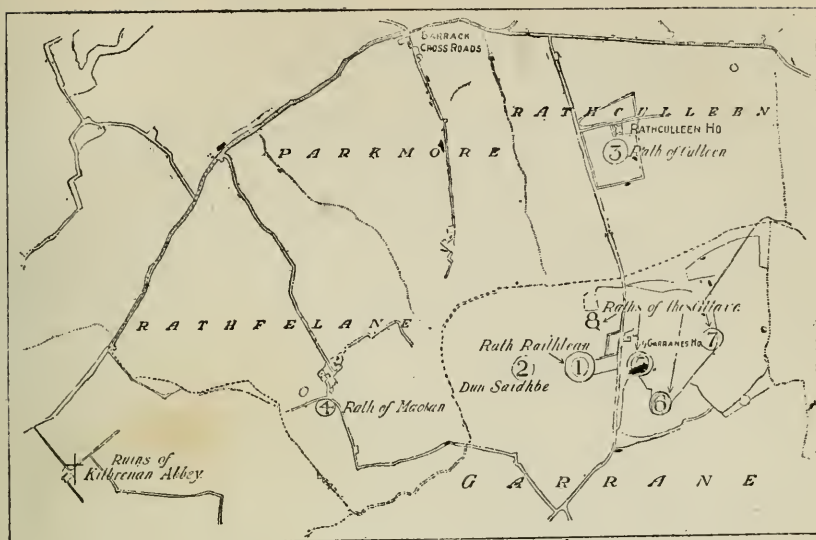
the eleventh century, in two of which a minute and detailed description is given of this residence of Cian. Mr. MacNeill, in the explanatory notes he subjoined to the text of the poems, says: "O'Donovan does not identify the site of Raithleann, but there are surely remains sufficient to indicate its place. It must have been once of great importance. In Giolla Caomh's poem are enumerated among its features—the Road of the Chariots on the north, the Fort of Sadhbh (Sabia, daughter of Brian) on the west, the Ford of Spoils on the east, the Road of the Mules "below." Mac Liag further mentions the "cashels of the raths," the Rath of the Poets, the Rath of the Women, Raith Chuain (i.e., of Cuan O'Lochain, the ollamh), Dun Draighnean (i.e., of Draighnean O seicinn, the trumpeter), Raith Chuilcinn (i.e., of Cuilceann, the harper), the Rath of the Doirseoir (janitor or gatekeeper, Dubhthach): in all seven forts, in addition to the fort of Raithleann itself, also called Raith Chuirce and Raith Chein."

On reading the descriptive poem in the *Gaelic Journal*, Canon Lyons, P.P., a distinguished Irish scholar, whose valuable contributions on the place-names of over forty parishes, and on Irish "Agnomina," are known to the readers of the *Cork Historical and Archæological Journal*, wrote for the next number of that *Journal* an article on the subject, in which he says:

"A long-standing problem of local history has been clearly solved. The description given of Raithleann, the seat of Cian, son of Maolmuadh, son-in-law of Brian Boru, in the September number of the *Gaelic Journal*, has enabled me to identify it without the least doubt. The Rath exists, in a good state of preservation, with a double [triple] rampart, in the north-eastern point of the townland of Gurrane, in the parish of Templemartin, and Barony of Kinelmeky, about six or seven miles north of Bandon, and three miles south-east of Crookstown station."

Three years previously he had described the place without being able to identify it, in vol. ii., 1903, p. 146: "In the northern part of Templemartin may be seen the plan of an ancient tribal city. The chief's stronghold is in the centre, surrounded by a triple rampart. At present about a dozen raths lie about it, there were more formerly, but they have been levelled. I discovered an ogham-inscribed stone in one of the smallest of these lisses, with twenty-seven letters engraved on it. This Rath must have been the chief stronghold of the O'Mahony chiefs of Kinelmeky, before they removed to Bandon and built Castle Mahon. A large number of raths still remain at a little distance, to the south and east; these must have been the residences of the guards and military followers of the chief." The Rath stands on an eminence commanding a view of the valley of the Bride. As to its dimensions, a writer in *Lewis's Topographical Dictionary* describes it as "including three acres, and surrounded by a triple rampart";²⁴ its area does not seem quite so large; its diameter is about two hundred and fifty feet. In the inner rampart some sepulchral mounds were opened, and found to contain cinerary urns—an evidence of its great antiquity. "We have records," says Canon Lyons in the article referred to, "carrying its history back to the dawn of Christianity, and it may have existed before."

²⁴ Mr. Brash, who had visited the fort without identifying it, describes it, in his work on Oghams, as "an immense Rath with numerous subterranean passages."



(Reduced from the six inch Ordnance Map, No. 184.)

- (1) Rath Raithlean, called *Caherkean* at time of Ordnance Survey. Lisnacaheragh put down by the Ordnance Survey through mistake. "Caherkean," site of smaller fort lower down.
- (2) Dun Saidhbé or Rath Saidhbé in the old poems. Called "Lisnabanroe" (a corruption of Lisnabanree), in Ordnance Map.
- (3) Rath of Cullen, the harper (destroyed). In townland of Rathcullen.
- (4) Rath of Maolán. (Rathphelane, Rathvolane, in Parish Register) [destroyed].
- (5), (6), (7), (8) Rath of "the Ollave," "the Poets," "the Women," "the Doorkeeper" (these destroyed). Dun Draighneán, too distant to appear in this map.

[The identification of the rath is made out principally from Mac Liage's description, which is more detailed than that of Gilla Caomh.]

The process by which it was identified is most complete, and can be followed by anyone possessing a six-inch ordnance map of the locality. It consists in comparing the description above summarized from the ancient poems of the eleventh century with the place-names given in the ordnance map. The poems are given in the Appendix to this Part I.

The Bard Mac Liag²⁵ represents himself, in one of his poems, as taking his stand above the principal fort, which he apostrophises as the Rath of Corc and Cian, and then, looking towards the north, observes "Dundraighnean, this fort to the north" (Dundraighneán an tóin ro cúaid), and describes it as belonging to Cian's trumpeter. Now, on the north, or to be strictly accurate, north-west, is Castlemore, which stands on the site of a dun called Dundraighnean. The name was preserved by Dundrinan Church, which was adjacent to the castle on the east. An account of it is given in Brady's *Parochial Records*. De Cogan's representative in the sixteenth century made over to the Earl of Desmond "Castlemore, otherwise Downdrinane." See Cox's *Regnum Corcagiense*.

He next observes "the Rath of Cullen, the harper of the hill." On the map the next townland is marked Rathcullen.

²⁵ These topographical poems have done for Raithleann, what the old MS. accounts, in the Book of Leinster, by Kenneth O'Hartigan in the tenth century, and Cuan O'Lochan in the eleventh, enabled O'Donovan and Petrie to do for the Rath of Tara.

In the same stanza with Culleen is named Maolan, another of Cian's attendants. On the map the townland on the south-west bears the name of Rathphelane, so spelled, but pronounced by Irish speakers Rathvaylane (Ráth Míoláin).

On the west the poet sees the "Dun of Sadbh (Sabia), the daughter is she of Brian." The map shows, about two hundred yards to the west, a fort (not long since destroyed) named "Lisnamanroe," a sufficiently obvious corruption of Lisbanree (queen's fort). A townland about five miles distant, also in Kinelmeky, bears the name Lisbanree.

On the east he notices the Rath of Cuan, the ollamh, but that and two others, also on the east ("the Rath of the Poets, the Rath of the Women"), which once stood inside the grounds of Gurrane House, were levelled within living memory. Δτ να γ-ρεαδ, the "Ford of Spoils," must have been an expansion of the small stream at the foot of the hill, now flowing under the road.

By the identification of Raithleann is determined the birthplace of St. Finbar. The ancient "Lives," both Irish and Latin, agree in stating that he was born when his father²⁶ was "chief metal worker" or armourer to Tighernach (pron. Teernagh), prince of Raithleann (about A.D. 570). There is now no excuse for stating that he was born "near Bandon" at some imaginary fort on which Castlemahon was supposed to have been afterwards built, nor was there, forty years ago, any tradition to this effect, as has been sometimes asserted.

²⁶ In the Irish *Life* referred to, Amergin, the father of Finbar is described as *prihghoba* (not goba, smith), a distinction which disappears in the translation of the Latin *Life*. The *prihghoba*, also called *ollave goba*, was a master craftsman, who designed and executed works of an ornamental kind such as are found in our museums. The Brehon Law assigned to this class of artificers as good a social position, in some respects, as belonged to the "aire desa," or lower class of nobles, and such is the status they hold in the ancient historical tales. Their names were preserved in the literature; though the military spirit predominated among in the ancient Irish, they are not liable to the reproach of Friedrich Rueckert that—

" In the troublous days of old,
The soldier alone won fame and gold—
The artist passed for a drone!"

[To the place names called after Corc, should be added "Cluainte Cuirc" (Corc's meadows), near Dunmanway.

Page 14.—A Latin "Litania" of the 9th or 10th century is quoted from Ward's *Acta Martyrum*, as incidentally determining the eastern boundary of the Ui Eachach. The Irish original may be seen in the Féilre of Aengus, in the *Leabhar Breac*, p. 23, and in the *Book of Leinster*, p. 373, Atkinson's edition. Whitley Stokes, in vol. i. of *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus* (Cambridge, 1901), retracted his opinion as to the date of the Féilre, and accepted as accurate the traditional date, "about the year 800."]

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TWO TOPOGRAPHICAL POEMS.

(From *Giolla Caomh.*)

Raib Raibléann an maib reo toir
 i mbuio mac mic bhoim na rluas;
 ba hiomda miosmao dom' méir
 i n-aimpigh Céin mic Maolmhuaid.

Bochar na gCarbad an bochar ro tuaid
 'Gá uirgúir rluas éloinne cair
 um Cian mac mlaolmhuaid mic bhoim
 nari fill maí tpois tar air.

Dúin Saibde an dúin ro eiar
 inéan rin vo bhoim mac Táil
 Trí ceo bean vo uolad bair
 'Do eigeao gac la le Saib.

Át na gCread an t-át ro toir
 át ina noeuntaoi ghoíma aig
 Trí ceo ead re gcuiraoi rhuam
 'Do eigeao le Cian vo'n maib.

Bochar na múilte an bochar tíor
 tuis rúir di di máir ve mnaib
 Ceatmaea mac ba maib ghoi
 'Do eigeao gac laoi vo'n maib.

Ir mire Giolla Caom cóir
 Racaó vo'n hoim v'a uero cad
 'Do coimhbir mo éioide im' élad
 San Cian vo beir iran maib.

(From *Mac Liag.*)

Raib Raibléann maib éuir ir Céin,
 Tmuas, a 'De, mar atá anocht!

.

Trí hainmnéad Raia éuir
 'Do lomar uoib, gíbe fat;
 'D'a éir rin, 'ré muz mo rhuad
 San Cian mac Maolmhuaid ran maib.

Raib Saibde, inéine bhoim,
 'Daido di noaido, ir Raib Cein,
 O vo tuir rhuad leat di leit,
 Tmuas mo beata beir v'a nóir!

Raib na b'ilead, Raib na mban,
 'Dá maib vo car mac Maolmhuaid,
 San act a uair v'a noir,
 Ir e vo beir me san rhuad.

Raib Cuain an maib reo toir,
 O ollad mic bhoim go mbuaid,
 O locain, ba maib an rhu
 'Do eigeao gac laoi fa cuair.

Dun 'Dmaighean do dun ro tuaid,
 U Seicinn nari rhuaid le uair;
 Forao a rhuic mairnig moir
 'Do cluimioir na rlois ran maib.

Raib éuilcinn, cuirte an énuic,
 Tmuas mar vo tuir tar eir caic;
 Maolan ir Measgan moir,
 'D'a oimmo na rlois nem' rhu;
 ba mimic iao rairme Cian,
 Ir ba mimic bhoim ranmaib.

Raib an 'Doirreoma vo éim;
 Ir tmuas mar bim d'gur taim!
 Ni tiz 'Duada gup do tiz,
 'S ni tizim-re for vo'n maib.

Maréan vo éloinn eadad éoim,
 'Do'n oimioz ba mói aoir ir aig!
 ba hiomda cread d'gur gíall
 'Do beirioir go Cian 'ran maib.

Mire mac Liag na gCread;
 Ir maib an b'ead mo beir máir taim;
 Ni maib tarélad le nead maí
 An rhu vo buio Cian 'ran maib.

For some remarks on the partial modernization of ancient poems frequently transcribed or recited through many centuries, see a subsequent page.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE No. II.

(From Duald MacFirbis's *Book of Munster* and several Irish MSS. in R.I. Academy and T.C.D.)

MAHON (ob. A.D. 1038).
Brodchon.
Cumara.
Donogh Donn.
Cian.

DONOGH NA HIMERCE TIOMCUIL (ob. A.D. 1212).

Sept of O'Mahon of Ivagha.
O Maṭṡamṇa an Fuin laṛṭapaṛṭṡ.

DIARMUID MOR I. (eldest son).

Tadhg.

Donogh Ratha Dreoáin.

Diarmuid Mor II.

(Sliocht Diarmada Óig.)

Sept of O'Mahon of Kinelmeky.

O Maṭṡamṇa Cáirbreac.

CONCOBAR (2nd son).

Aodh.

Maghnus.

Donogh Maol.

Diarmuid Cairbreach.

Finin.

Donal.

Diarmuid Runtach.

Concobar Cabaicc.

Concobar Fionn (na neach).

Concobar Fionn (na ccros).

Concobar Fionn.

Donal.

Concobar.

Diarmuid Og

(a-n-deasmuman, i.e. of "Desmond").

Sean.

Diarmuid.

Concobar.

TADHG MEIRGEACH

(ancestor of the Co. Kerry families of Dunloe Castle, Kilmorna, Dromore, and of one Co. Cork family, fl. A.D. 570.)

Tadhg Buidhe.

Diarmuid.

Donal.

Diarmuid Spaineach.

Finin.

Maolmuadh.

Cian.

Mahon.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE No. III.

(From MSS. No. 23, G. 22, R.I. Academy & H. 25-1296, T.C.)

MINOR SEPTS IN MUSKERRY.

O'M. Sept of Ibh
Floin Luadh.

Tadhg an óir (br. of
Diarmuid Mor II.)

Finin.

Diarmuid Buidhe.

Diarmuid.

Donogh.

Diarmuid.

Eoghan.

Diarmuid.

Sean.

Diarmuid.

Sean.

Diarmuid.

Concobar an Crochar.

Donogh.

Cian.

Cian an Crochar
(fl. A.D. 1719).

Seamus (James,
Lieut.-Colonel in
the Spanish ser-
vice, ob. A.D. 1776.)

Clan-Finin-na-
Ceithirne.

Macraith (eldest son
of Diarm. Mor I.)

Finin (a quo Clan
Finin).

Cian.

Donogh Ruadh.

Donogh Ruadh.

Maolmuadh.

Mahon.

Diarmuid.

Mahon Ruadh.

Clan Concobair.

Concobar (4th from
1st O'M. Carbery).

Donogh.

Mahon.

Donogh.

Finin.

Finin Og.

Finin Og Maol.

Donogh.

O'M. of Kilna-
glory.

Donal (2nd son of
Diarmuid Mor II.)

Finin.

Tadhg.

Donal.

Maolmuadh.

Concobar.

Donal.

Tadhg.

Tadhg Og.

Concobar.

David.

PART II.

FROM A.D. 400 TO A.D. 1014.

Of the predecessors of Mahon whose names are given in ¹Genealogical Table No. I., ten are known only through that document. Ten others, as also three chieftains (who, having left no sons are not included in the genealogy) are mentioned in the Annals and other historical works—no inconsiderable proportion of the entire number of predecessors, if we bear in mind the destruction² of so many of our ancient manuscripts by the Danish and English invaders. In the Appendix to the last vol. of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the editor has diligently put together all that had been handed down about Olioll Olum and the first four of his successors. Corc was not included in those researches, and it becomes necessary, therefore, to gather from various sources and, for the first time, combine into one narrative the scattered notices regarding that personage in the early records.

Corc was the son of Lugaidh, and grandson of Olioll Flanbeg, a former King of Munster. The *Book of Leinster* (289 a. l., Dr. Atkinson's Ed.) gives an account, partly historical and partly legendary, of an event of his youth. In consequence of an accusation made by his stepmother, he incurred the wrath of his father, who obliged him to leave Ireland, and betake himself to Scotland. The wrathful Lugaidh caused to be inscribed in ogham on his son's shield a request to King Feradach to put him to death without delay. But Gruibne, King Feradach's poet, whom Corc had saved from captivity in Ireland, noticed the inscription, and, having explained its fatal import to Corc, succeeded in persuading the King that it meant a request that he would give his daughter in marriage to the son of Lugaidh. The marriage accordingly took place. The legend is, obviously, borrowed from the Homeric story of Bellerophon, in the sixth book of the *Iliad*, and unskillfully borrowed, as it substituted a visible inscription, for the secret symbols inscribed on the "folded tablet." The legend evidently originated at a much later period, when the ogham had ceased to be used, and was regarded as having been a cryptic form of writing. But, notwithstanding the legendary accretion, the historical fact that Corc sojourned in Scotland, and married the daughter of a Scottish prince, seems to be attested by the firm belief of the Mor Maers of Magh-

¹ The genealogy for the period before the end of the ninth century was derived by MacFirbis and the other antiquaries from the *Saltair of Cashel*, written by Cormac MacCuilenan. This work, now lost, was extant in 1680, as O'Curry proves. He might have added that it was known later. O'Rahilly in his *Elegy on O'Mahony*, father of Daniel of Dunloe Castle, in 1706 (Rev. P. Dineen's edition, 1900), alludes to it as if as accessible as the *Book of Munster* :—

" His pedigree is thre complete,
In the *Book of Munster*, written from the first man,
Or in the *Psalter of Cashel* without deceit,
Which Cormac wrote, the fountain of the bards."

Incidentally it may be stated, that some information supplied in O'Rahilly's poem, taken in connection with MS. 23 G. 22 R.I. Academy, establishes conclusively the descent of the Daniel aforesaid from Dermot Mor, chief of Ivagha, who married the daughter of the Marquis Carew about A.D. 1300.

² See Dr. W. K. Sullivan's Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, for numerous instances of the destruction of MSS

Ghergin (Mar) and Leamna (Lennox) that they were descendants of his son, Maine Leamna. Of this belief the Mor Maers in A.D. 1014 gave evidence in coming to assist their brethren of the Clan Cuirc and their more remote relative, Brian, at the battle of Clontarf, where one of them was killed. This belief was shared by the Irish antiquaries, who reckoned Magh-Ghergin (Mar) among the "Eoganachts,"³ and inserted the pedigree of the Mor Maers in the genealogy of the tribes of the Clan Cuirc. On the identification of these "High Stewards" with the Stuarts, see Cambrensis Eversus, vol. iii., p. 65. Certainly the descent of the Stuarts from a Celtic ancestry was maintained by Hector Boethius in his *History of Scotland*, and must, therefore, have been acknowledged by his patron, James V. The theory of their Norman extraction is precariously sustained, and does not account for the origin of the name Stuart, so naturally explained as the English equivalent of Mor Maer.

After the death of his father, Corc returned to Ireland, and resided at his Fort of Raithleann, according to Bardic tradition, until he was elected King of Munster. The circumstances of his election are narrated at some length by Keating (*History of Ireland*), who had access to sources now lost about Munster affairs. He relates that Connal, of Dalcassian descent, laid claim to the vacant throne of Munster, that the senior race of Eoghan Mor resisted his claim, maintaining the right of Corc, and that the interregnum continued until the question was referred to the brehons of Munster, who decided in favour of Corc.

He selected Cashel as the royal residence, and is said to have reigned thirty years.⁴ According to O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, part iii., c. 81), the territory where he fixed his residence was called Corca Eachrach, and extended in length from Tibraid Arainn (Tipperary) to Dun Andriais, on the north side of Knockraffon. Place-names called after him were, Muscraige Cuirc, the Barony of Clanwilliam, Co. Tipperary; Dun Cuirc, which has been identified with Bruree, and Rath Cuirc, which, as we have seen, was the bardic name of Rath Raithleann.⁵

The Four Masters, under the year 438, have the following entry: "The tenth year of Laeghaire. The Seanchus and the Feinechus of Eire were purified and written; the old books having been collected into one place at the request of St. Patrick. These were the nine supporting props by whom it was done. . . . as the following quatrain testifies:

"Laeghaire, Corc, Daire the stern, Patrick, Benen, and
Cairnech the just,
Ross, Dubtach, Fergus . . . nine props these of the
Seanchus Mor."

3 O'Flaherty (in his *Ogygia*) gives from ancient authorities the following list of "Eoghanachts," or territories of tribes descended from Eoghan Mor:—Ania, Lochlein, Cashel, Raithleann, Glendamnach, Aran, Rosarguid, Moyghergin (Mar) in Scotland.

4 See *Rioḡa ríl Eibhí*, etc. "King of the race of Heber and the length of their reigns," by O'Dugan (ob. 1372). Edited from the *Book of Ballymote* by O'Daly, 1847. The quatrain about Corc commences as follows:—

"Corc mac Lúigḡeac Laoḡda an fear
Céu fear do rúig a c-Cairiol," etc., etc.

5 Dr. Todd in Appendix to his edition of the *Wars of the Gael and the Gall*, calls Corc, "Connal Corc," by a curious mistake, forming for him an appellation compounded from his rival's name and his own,

The quatrain was taken from the Glossary of Cormac (ob. 903), which has been edited by Whitley Stokes. On this entry Dr. O'Donovan makes the following comment: "The quotation is apochryphal. Corc was evidently not a contemporary of Laeghaire or of St. Patrick's mission, for he was the grandfather of Aenghus, the first Christian king." This is a curious blunder; the argument is—Corc could not be alive in 438, for his grandson was killed in 489! An interval of fifty years between the death of a grandfather and that of his grandson is an ordinary occurrence. He does not seem to be aware that the quatrain was taken from Cormac's Glossary, where it is quoted as an ancient authority. Professor Bury (*Life of St. Patrick*) gives an ingenious defence of the historic truth of the old quatrain. The only other extant records regarding Corc are three poems ascribed to Torna Eigeas ("the learned"), a contemporary poet, who had been foster-father or instructor of Corc and Nial. In two of these the bard seeks to reconcile his two favourites, who had become rival claimants for the monarchy of Ireland. The third and best known of these poems is an Elegy on both princes, consisting of fifty-two lines, a translation of which is contained in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. The authenticity of this piece is disputed, but (as appears at least to the present writer), some considerations of weight can be adduced in favour of the tradition that ascribed it to Torna. The inevitable modernization to which all popular poems are subjected, in the course of transcription or recitation through many centuries, has not entirely obliterated all marks of its antiquity. A few archaic forms tell more for its antiquity than many modernized forms and expressions for its more recent origin. Again, there are in it no anachronisms, no Christian expressions, such as might be expected in an Elegy written by a Christian bard, but which could not emanate from one traditionally known as the "last bard of the Pagan race." Moreover, the author, himself a Southern, impartially eulogises⁶

"Nial, the son of hundred-battled Con,

And Corc of Eoghan Mor the not less glorious son."

Such impartiality cannot be looked for in any poem that was not written at some date preceding Brian Boru's aggression on the hereditary right of the Northern princes to the Crown of Ireland. Since that event, the mutual animosities of Northern and Southern bards and annalists have often been in evidence, as in the divergent accounts of Malachy's action at Clontarf, and in the poetical contest known as "The Contention of the Bards," in the sixteenth century, which commenced with a censure of Torna for his impartiality.

Corc had four sons—Natfraoch, Cas, Maine Leamna (who settled in Scotland) and Cairbre Luachra. Neither of these succeeded him as King of Munster. Keating states that his successor was Connal Echluach, who was succeeded in 453 by Corc's grandson, Aenghus, son of Natfraoch, who became the first Christian king.

Cas, Mahon's ancestor, is said to have married Beibhionn, daughter of the chief of Corcalaidhe (Corcalee). His name is alluded to in the *Book of Rights*, as already quoted, in connection with his residence, Rathleann, and the privilege of exemption from tribute enjoyed by him and his tribe. His descendants are called the "Clan of Cas," but in verse only, not in any prose chronicle. His son was

⁶ From John Dalton's English translation.

Eachaidh (εαῶαῖϑ, genitive case εαῶαῖ, hence Ui Eacac, the descendants of Eachaidh). He was cousin-german of Aenghus, above referred to, who was killed in battle in 489. This circumstance determines approximately the time when he flourished, and he may be considered to have been the first Christian chief of the tribe. He acquired the cognomen of Cruadh, the hard or severe (see page 194 ante), and this is all we know about his personal history. From his name was formed the patronymic designation of his Sept—the Ui Eachach. To this Sept-name was added by the Annalists generally, "Mumhain," i.e., "of Munster," to distinguish the Sept from a similarly-named Sept, the Ui Eachach Uladh, i.e., Ulidia, the territory comprising Down and Antrim. The *Chronicum Scotorum* has the following entry: "A.D. 553. Death of Eachaid, son of Conlaed of Uladh, from whom the Ui Eachach Uladh are descended." As the distinguishing epithets were not invariably attached to these Sept names in ancient Irish literature, it often happened that passages intended to refer to one of these Septs were understood of the other. Thus Cronnelly, in his account of the O'Mahonys, applies to the southern clan a passage from the poem of Maolmora of Fahan (ob. A.D. 884) which was intended by that author for the northern Ui Eachach. The (Bodleian) Annals of Innisfallen have frequent references to both Septs, but do not add the distinctive epithets "Mumhan" or "Uladh"—a neglect that is very embarrassing to the reader. As has been already stated (p. 187, part i.), this Sept-name continued to be used for many centuries concurrently with the hereditary surname of O'Mahony borne by the chieftain's family from the end of the eleventh century. Even towards the close of the sixteenth century, Mac Brody,⁷ in a poem on the Eoganachts, while describing the other southern tribes by the names by which they are generally known, applies to the O'Mahonys the ancient appellation of their Sept.

But to return to Eochaidh—the *Book of Leinster* (p. 326), which spells the name Eochó, says: "Cas had one son, Eochó, Eochó had two sons—Crimthan and Lugaidh;" elsewhere five others are enumerated.

Crimthan, the eldest son and successor of Eochaidh, died while his children were young, and his brother Lugaidh, called "Cicech," or the "Breasted," who had acted as foster-father⁸ of the children, succeeded him as Rí Raithleann. In the *Irish Life of St. Finbar*, chap. 22, "Disert Mor" is said to be in the territory of the "descendants of Crimthán." This place-name is preserved in the name of a parish, Desertmore. It was in Lugaidh's time that St. Senanus came to live at Tuaim Aba, afterwards called Inniscarra, about A.D. 520. Ancient Irish Chieftains used not to object to outsiders coming to settle down in unoccupied parts of their territory, but were most particular in requiring tribute in recognition of their authority,⁹ and Lugaidh, the son of a convert from paganism and

7 ΣΙΛΑΞ ὅν ΕΑCΑC ΝΑ ΠΙΝ ΠΕΙΘ
 ΤΟ CΛΑΝΝΗΙΘ ΕΟΞΑΝ ΙΑΘ ΠΕΙΝ.

⁸ The passage in page 8, describing in metaphorical language the manner in which Lugaidh reared his foster children, was quoted as an excerpt from a Miscellany of the Firbises, but has been since discovered by the present writer in the *Book of Leinster*, p. 326.

⁹ Miss Eleanor Hull in her *Text Book of Irish Literature*, makes the following well-founded statement:—"Even when a whole sept migrated, as in the case of the Deise, there was no lack of space for them to settle in. In proportion to the population land was plentiful. Any man could have a piece of land for the asking, paying for it by tribute or body service to the chief."

imperfectly imbued with Christian ideas, was not disposed to make an exception in favour of Senanus and his monastery. He sent to demand tribute, but Senanus replied that he would pay no tribute to any earthly king. Lugaidh sent a racehorse to be maintained at the monastery as a token of subjection, but the horse fell into the Lee and was drowned, only its forequarter (*carra*) appearing above water; whence the name *Innis-carra*—a good specimen of the etymological myth. The account of the dispute is given in two Latin Lives published by Colgan (*Acta Sanctorum*, March 8th and an Irish Life in Stokes' *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, from the Book of Lismore. The source drawn upon in these Lives was the metrical narrative of St. Colman, son of Lenin, the first Bishop of Cloyne, who, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, died in A.D. 600. The following passage is taken from Stokes' translation of St. Colman's Irish verses :

"A wonderful horse had Lugaidh,
A more beautiful horse than he was not found in Ireland,
"Take my horse to the Cleric that it may be fed by him on corn."

The king of Raithleann went to them from the south, haughty his
onrush,

In front of every one until he was with hostful Senan,
Then did Lugaidh the Breasted, say, as to the Cleric,
With fierce utterance, that he should be cast in to the water,

Not good what thou hast done, O Lugaidh,
To noble Senan give his desire, say his fosterlings,
Give his full desire to the Cleric as is very gladful
Without affliction of speech, that it may be a tale to the world's end.
The twain together, Aedh and radiant Loigure,
When they did Senan's will . . . of offering,
He gave them with peace and goodly children the kingdom of
Raithleann,
Said the word of the apostle that ennobles labours,
That a realm not rude should be unto Aedh and heroic Loigure."

Aedh was the eldest of the three sons of Criomthan, Aedh, Laeghere, and Cormac.¹⁰ Laeghere is made the eldest in the tribal genealogies of his descendants, the Clan of O'Donoghue, but the collocation of the names in St. Colman's poem, the earliest document in which the two are mentioned, is decisive on the subject. One is surprised to find that the mild and considerate Aedh of the foregoing narrative acquired in after life the agnomen of Uargarbh ("the overbearing"). He was the first distinctive ancestor of Mahon and his posterity, his predecessors being the common ancestors of both tribes, the O'Mahonys and O'Donoghues. His descendants were called, after his name, the Cinel Aedh (whence Kinalea), and a genealogy under that heading, and commencing with Maolmuad, father of Cian, and grandfather of Mahon, is to be found in the *Book of Leinster* (loc. citat). The son of Aedh was

¹⁰ Who was the contemporary King of Munster during the Chieftainship of Tighernach, and at the date of St. Finbar's birth? This is a question not easily determined. An entry in the *Chronicon Scotorum* under the year 573, is as follows:—"The battle of Femhin gained by

Tighernach (Τιγερναχ, pr. Teernagh). The time of Tighernach's Chieftainship was made memorable by the birth of St. Finbar at Raithleann. The ancient Irish Life of St. Finbar, which is the original on which the two Latin Lives were formed, having recorded that Amergin, his father, was the pribhgobha, chief metal-worker, of the Ri Raithleann, adds: "who at that time was Tighernach, son of Aedh Ugarbh, son of Criomphan, son of Eocaidh, son of Cas, son of Corc." The predecessors of Tighernach are here given exactly the same, and in the same order as in the genealogy of his race, and this passage presents a specimen of the incidental confirmation of such registers by the old chroniclers' inveterate habit of defining a person about whom they wrote, by attaching to his name two or more ancestors. The statement of the biographer, that the prince of Raithleann "devoted himself and his followers to St. Finbar in perpetuity," may be regarded as suggested by the undoubted fact that at a subsequent period (as we know from "Saltair na Rann"¹¹) St. Finbar was recognised as the patron saint of Tighernach's tribe, the descendants of Eochaidh. Within their Sept-land there were, at least, four churches bearing his name—one in Templemartin, one near Kilmurry in the townland now called Warrenscourt, one a mile west of Dunmanway, and one in Kilmoe. This is attested by the place-name, Kilbarry. In the Scottish island of Barra the same patron is venerated by a Gaelic-speaking population, whose church is Kilbarr;

Cormac, son of Criomphan, King of Munster, in which Colman Beg was defeated." The editor of that work took the unwarrantable liberty of altering the text by substituting Cairbre for Cormac, adopting a marginal note written by O'Flaherty in his MS. copy of the *Chronicon*. In all probability this "Cormac, son of Criomphan," was Cormac, the brother of Aedh Ugarbh (see *Book of Leinster*, p. 326) and grandson of Eachaid, the ancestor of the Ui Eachach, who flourished about 489, when his cousin-german, Aengus, King of Cashel, was killed. It will be difficult to find among the descendants of Corc, another "Cormac, son of Criomphan," who must have been born about 520 or 530. The *Annals of the Four Masters* have in an entry under the year 571, the battle of Femhin, with the name Cairbre substituted for Cormac, but without the epithet Crom. The *Book of Leinster*, in its list of the Munster kings "after the faith," has the name of Cairbre Crom, son of a predecessor Criomphan Crom, who by the epithet Crom, is clearly distinguished from Criomphan Srem or Srebh (ancestor of Caomh), mentioned in the same page, in the sentence just preceding the list of kings. The author of the *Annals of Ulster* records the battle of Femhin, and the name of the vanquished, but omits the name of the victor—perhaps feeling the difficulty of determining who he was. Of course, the modern *Annals of Innisfallen* cannot be quoted to settle this question. As regards the name "Cairbre Crom," it is a curious phenomenon and one not easily explained, that it should have been given to many chiefs, to a bishop of Clonmacnoise, and to a territory. Keating, who seeks to identify Cairbre, son of Criomphan Srebh with "Cairbre Crom," derives the latter name from Crom Cromglas, where Cairbre was nurtured. But in that case the name would be Cairbre Cruim (genitive). He ignores the further difficulty of accounting for a Criomphan Crom.

¹¹ In a poem on the Patron Saints of Tribes, attributed by Keating and Colgan to Aengus the Culdee, in the first half of the ninth century, the passage regarding Barra, patron of the Ui Eachach, briefly quoted in a previous page, is here given in full, in the original:—

"uí Eadad ó Cairn go Corcaig
Suar air áine
Ar é a mún ar maé réite
Ar éil baime.

and it is a curious coincidence that, according to Martin,¹² "their greatest asseverations were by this saint," just as we find in the *Vision of Mac Conglinne* that "dar Barra" (by Barra) was an exclamation used for the same purpose in Ivagha, where the scene of the story is laid. There can be no doubt that this island must have been colonized by the Ui Eachach, noted for their seamanship¹³ in the eleventh century, and that they introduced with their language and religion the name of the Patron Saint, who was born in their Sept-land. Nothing could be more improbable than that some other tribe colonized the island, and that in selecting a name for it, for its church, and for a small chapel, the colonists ignored their own tribal patron.

The date usually assigned for the birth of St. Finbar, i.e., A.D. 570 (circiter), compared with the dates of the accession and death of Fedlimidh (of whom presently), enables us to determine in a general way the time when Tighernach flourished. During his chieftainship the power of the tribe must have been considerable, for his son and successor,

Fedlimidh, became King of Munster. He succeeded Fergus Scandail, or Sganuil, who was slain in 580 (*Annals of the Four Masters*). The reign of Fedlimidh was not a long one. Under the year 586, the *Chronicon Scotorum* has an account of his death. The Bodleian Annals of Innisfallen enter his death under the year 585: "Mors Fedlimthe meicc Tighernaig, Righ Caissil."

O'Dugan's *Kings of the Race of Heber* is altogether at variance with the above Annals, and, indeed, seems a very dubious authority. As to the parentage of Fedlimidh and the date of his death, and on Munster affairs generally, there can be no better authority than the ancient Annals of Innisfallen, called the "Bodleian."

Dr. O'Brien who, like a good Dalcassian, systematically reduces to Kings of Desmond (South Munster) those Eoganacht princes who in other Annals figure as Kings of Munster, in his "Annals of Innisfallen," sets down Fedlimidh as a King of Desmond who succeeded Fergus Sganuil in 580, and died in 584. For this he incurred the wrath of Dr. O'Donovan, who says:¹⁴ "This is one of Dr. O'Brien's intentional falsifications to detract from the ancient importance of the Eoganachts." It is true that Dr. O'Brien shows in his compilation, that he was too much under the influence of the theory that he had formed about the ancient importance of the Dalcassian descendants of Olioll Olum, but the word "intentional" is unjustifiably severe, and Dr. O'Donovan should have remembered that he was often glad to avail himself of materials in this compilation, derived from sources now lost.

Of Fergus, the son of Fedlimidh, we find no mention in the Annals, nor of the son of Fergus, Bec or Bece (pron. Beke). The place-name Kinelmeky (Cineal m-Beice or Cinel m-Beice, i.e., the race of Bece) preserves the name of the latter. The name designated the family or descendants of Beke, but

¹² Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*, 1703. The writer has recently seen an interesting letter from the island, by which it appears that among its place-names are Tobar Barra and Gougane Barra.

¹³ See *Wars of the Gael and the Goill* (Dr. Todd's edition), p. 137: "The Ui Eachach Mumhan, and such men of Erin as were fit to go to sea."

¹⁴ Note on entry for 486, *Annals of the Four Masters*.

was never used as a name for the whole Tribe, as Cinel-Aodha undoubtedly was. It would seem that the immediate descendants of Beke and their families were put in possession of the portion of the Sept-land in the vicinity of Rath Raithleann, which thus got the name of Kinelmeky, while the more distant eastern portion continued to be called by the name of Kinelea, the original name of the Sept-land before Carbery, Ivagha, and Muskerry were annexed. As Fedlimidh, King of Munster, died in 585 or 589, it may be assumed that his grandson, Beke, flourished between 650 and 700. Between 589 and the earlier portion of the tenth century we find no mention made of any of the names in the genealogical list, but the records are not silent about Chiefs of the Clan who, like Lugaidh, Ri Raithleann, already mentioned, were not included in that list, having had no sons, or their posterity having died out.

Flann, a predecessor of Bece, "one of the Mahonys," as Smith, by a curious prolepsis, describes him, is stated, on the authority of an old historical poem, to have added Muskerry to his possessions (p. 14).

According to the author of the *Vision of Mac Conglinne*, Pichan "King of the Ui Eachach," was a contemporary of Cahal, son of Finguine, King of Munster, who, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, died in 737. In the eighth century the Abbey of Kilbrenin was founded by St. Aodh (Latinized, Aidus), according to Usher and Colgan, "at Enagh mid-Brenin, in that part of the Co. Cork which is called Muscraighé." ¹⁵As this Abbey, of which some ruins still exist, was only a mile distant from Rathleann, and in the Sept-land attached to the fort, there can be no reasonable doubt that it was built by some eighth century Ri Raithleann and his Sept. From the Irish Life of St. Finbar it may be inferred that the site of Raithleann was in Muscraigh Mitine, though afterwards and at present included in Kinelmeky.

In 827 the (original) Annals of Innisfallen have an entry of "the death of Donal, son of Cahal, King of the Eachach."

A.D. 844. The history known as *Wars of the Gael and the Gaill* relates that "the men of the South of Ireland under Donchadh, King of Eoganacht Ui Eachach, gave battle to the Danes." ¹⁶Here we find the head of the tribe performing the functions of the titular King of Munster of that time. It will be observed that he commanded the men of the "South of Ireland," i.e., of Munster, not merely "of South Munster." *The Annals of the Four Masters* have an entry of his death in the same year.

In A.D. 903 was fought the celebrated battle of Bealach Mughna, or Ballagh Moon, in the south of the Co. Kildare, two miles north of Carlow, between the Ard-Ri Flann with two provincial kings on the one side, and Cormac Mac Cuilenan, King of Munster, on the other. *The Annals of the Four Masters* under the above date have this entry: "The battle was gained over Cormac, and he himself was slain . . . These were the nobles who fell with him, viz., Fogartach the wise, Lord of Ciarraighé-Cuirche, . . . Maelmora, Lord (tighearna) of Raithlin, . . . and many other nobles besides them, and six thousand men along with them." On this, the Editor, Dr. O'Donovan, has the note: "Raithlin, this was the seat of O'Mahony, chief of Kinelmeky, in the Co. Cork." *The Chronicon*

¹⁵ Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, 1703, p. 57.

¹⁶ See Dr. Todd's edition, p. 19, footnote.

Scotorum of Duaid Mac Firbis, now held to be an edition of the Annals of Tighernach, Abbot of Clonmacnoise (ob. 1088), has a similar entry under the date A.D. 907, but gives Maelmora the time-honoured designation of Ri Raithleann, or as it spells the name, Rathalinne. This disastrous battle had a far-reaching effect on the fortunes of Maelmora's Clan, and on the future government of Munster. It weakened the Eoganacht Clans (who alone supported Cormac in the battle) and thus prepared the way for the rise of Dalcassian supremacy.

From his place in the genealogy, it would seem that "Cian, son of Spellan"—not to be confounded with his more celebrated descendant of Brian Boru's time—was the brother, and hence the successor, of Maelmora. Cian's son was Brón; this, and not Bran (Four Masters), was the correct spelling of the name according to most of the genealogical documents and the Annals of Tighernach. Rosbrin in his western territory, *Rorbroin*. (Broin genitive case), was obviously derived from his name.

His son was Maolmuadh, born about A.D. 930, King of the Eachach," according to the Annals of Tigernach, and "Lord of Desmond" according to the Four Masters. It would serve no useful purpose to anglicise his name into "Molloy," as many writers have done, which had the effect of misleading Dr. Todd into supposing him to have been the ancestor, not only of the O'Mahonys, but also of the Leinster family of O'Molloy, descended from a different Maolmuadh. His last descendant in the line of the Kinelmeky Chiefs (A.D. 1602) is named Moelmo in the *Pacata Hibernia*.

The history of Munster affairs in the tenth century requires, as much as any other period in Irish history, to be re-written from a critical examination of sources. What passes as a history of the period in our so-called "popular" and "school" histories is, to a large extent, misrepresentation. Three causes contributed to the production of this species of history. The compilers accepted as an unquestionable authority the *Wars of the Gael and the Gaill*, written by an avowed and extreme panegyrist of Mahon and Brian. They are under the influence of a belief in the mythical Will of Olioll Olum regarding the "Alternate Sovereignty" of Munster. They show no knowledge of what is contained in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and other Annals about the events of the time.

The work known as ¹⁷*The Wars of the Gaedhill and the Gaill* (i.e., The Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners") translated by O'Curry, and supplied with numerous notes by O'Donovan, was in 1867 edited by Dr. J. H. Todd, who prefixed to it a critical introduction, and divided it into chapters for convenience of reference. It may be considered as composed of two parts, which are practically separate works. The first part, extending to chapter xl., narrates the numerous invasions of the Norwegians and Danes, and their depredations, particularly in the South of Ireland. The narrative of these events written in the ordinary, simple style of Irish Annalists is admitted to be a trustworthy record of the period. The second part, from chapter xl. to the end, recounts in bombastic language the exploits of Mahon and Brian and of the Dalcassian race, culminating in the victory of Clontarf. The author was, says Dr. Todd (Introd. p. xix.) "a contemporary and strong partisan of King Brian Boru," and there is "abundant evidence" that interpolations in prose and verse were inserted

¹⁷ This will be hereinafter quoted as *Wars of the Gael*, for brevity's sake.

by a transcriber who was of the same tribe and actuated by the same party spirit as the original writer. To those who are unacquainted with the work, the extreme intensity of the party spirit that pervades it cannot be made evident without numerous quotations for which space is not available. We may fairly characterise it, adopting the phraseology of modern criticism, as a "Dalcassian pamphlet." Yet it is from this work (and chiefly from its interpolated parts)—without giving the slightest intimation to their readers as to the bias with which it was written—that modern compilers of Irish history have transferred to their pages whole passages about the contest between Mahon and Maolmuadh. A historian's estimate of the contest referred to must depend to a certain extent on the opinion he may have formed as to the truth or falsehood of the oft-repeated statement that, in accordance with the will of Olioll Olum, the sovereignty of Munster was to be enjoyed alternately by a descendant of his eldest son, Eoghan Mor, and of his second son, Cormac Cas; that both races of his descendants accepted their ancestor's will as a kind of constitutional law and observed it for several generations. In modern times, the revival of a claim to sovereignty that had been in abeyance for over five hundred years would not be treated seriously; but in ancient Ireland the almost religious veneration for the memory of a founder of a dynasty would be considered to justify an attempt to restore his arrangement, though set aside for many centuries.

That there never was any such "will," and that the two races never shared alternately the chief rule of Munster, is a conclusion that the present writer has arrived at from the following arguments:—

1. The author of the *Wars of the Gael* knew nothing of the alleged will. In chapters xli. and xlii., he puts together a number of ancient testimonies eulogizing the valour of the Dalcais, and indicating their privileges. Amongst these testimonies is a forged prophecy of S. Colman of Lenin, declaring that their supremacy was to last to the end of time, and a quatrain of Cormac Mac Cuilenan,¹⁸ King of Cashel, on their right to the van in the Munster army in attack, and to the rear in retreat. But, though the tribal historian strongly asserts their alternate right to the provincial throne, he quotes no ancient authority for this alleged privilege, which he bases, apparently, on the great importance and military prowess of the tribe. He is silent about Olioll Olum. The conclusion is inevitable—the legend of the will was never heard of before the time of that chronicler, that is to say, before the death of Brian.

2. Keating was a believer in the alleged "will of Olioll"; in fact he was dominated by this belief, and in accordance with it was shaped much of his history. But he unconsciously produced, from his own researches, decisive evidence against his view in the account of the accession of Corc, summarised in a previous page. The Eoghanacht clans, who in the latter portion of the fourth century put forward the claim of Corc as a successor to a Munster King of their own race, cannot have admitted the existence of the law of alternate succession; and the Brehons who decided in favour of Corc ignored the existence of any such law. It was by their decision,

¹⁸ Keating puts in the mouth of Cormac a speech admitting the "law of alternate succession." This speech must be regarded as derived from some recent and untrustworthy source. Had a record of any such expression of opinion by Cormac existed in the time of the author of the *Wars of the Gael*, it would have been known to and eagerly quoted by that chronicler.

and not by any ancient law, that Connall succeeded Corc, if it be true that he did succeed him.

3. There is further evidence that the Eoghanacht race knew nothing of this legendary will. On the day after the Battle of Clontarf, Cian, son of Maolmuadh, refused to acknowledge his brother-in-law, Donogh, son of Brian, as King of Munster, maintaining the superior right of himself as being of the elder line of Eoghan Mor. His words were "for Eoghan Mor was senior to Cormac Cas," as recorded in the MS., "Cae Cluana Tairb," written by a South Munster author, a more reliable exponent of the views of Cian and his co-relatives than was the author of *Wars of the Gael*, who represents him as basing his claim on the principle of alternate succession.

After the foregoing conclusion had been arrived at, for the reasons thus briefly set forth, it was satisfactory to the writer to find that the same view had been adopted by one who is a specialist in early Irish history. In the November (1906) number of the *New Ireland Review*, in an article on "Ancient Irish Genealogies," Mr. John M'Neill, B.A., writes: "In dealing with the history of Munster,¹⁹ I shall show that the Dal Cais had no share in the sovereignty of Munster before the time of Brian." He speaks of "the fiction of alternation."

We find in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the year 959, that "Fergraidh, son of Clerech, King of Cashel, died." Maolmuadh, lord of Desmond, and head of the powerful tribe of the Ui Eachach, one of whose chiefs, of the Cinel Laeghere branch, Dubdhabdhoren, died King of Munster in 958, laid claim to the vacant position. Maolmuadh's pretensions were opposed by no one, and he became the recognized King of Munster. The proof of this assertion is, that according to an entry (which shall be quoted presently) in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, "the hostages of Munster" were in his possession, kept in one of his forts called Sgiath an Eigis, in Kinelmeky. Mahon, son of Kennedy, head of the Dal Cais, had as yet given no evidence of his intention to seize the provincial throne in violation of the immemorial prescriptive right of the Eoghanachts. He had succeeded after a prolonged and severe struggle in liberating his ancestral kingdom of Thomond from the thralldom of the Danish invaders. But he proceeded at once to imitate the example of the foreign marauders by placing a fleet of boats on the Shannon, and committing depredations on the territories of the Irish tribes on both sides of the river. He followed his Danish models only too faithfully, for the *Annals* tell us that in 957, "the Abbey of Clonmacnoise was plundered by Mahon, son of Kennedy," and the outrage was repeated by his fleet of boats in 960. Swift retribution, however, followed from the injured tribes; most of the boats were seized by the men of the Leinster side of the river, and the *Annals* record the "victory of Ferghal, King of Connaught, over the Munster men on the Shannon; Dal Cais was plundered, and a slaughter made against Mahon." Mahon now resolved to seize on the throne of Munster, and made an unprovoked and unexpected raid on Maolmuadh's territory—which the Annalists thus record: "An army was led by Mahon, son of Kennedy, to Sgiath an Eigis, and he carried off the hostages of Munster, and expelled (Maolmuadh) the son of Bron, Lord of Desmond."

¹⁹ The promised dissertation on Munster history has not as yet been published.

The invasion of Maolmuadh's territory by Mahon, elder brother of Brian, is also recorded by the (Bodleian) *Annals of Innisfallen* in the following entry: "A hosting by Mahon, son of Kennedy, against the son of Bron, and he took away his hostages" (co tucc a gialla), that is to say, the hostages of others that were in Maolmuadh's custody. This occurred, according to the chronology of the *Four Masters*, as corrected by the editor, in A.D. 967, a year before the battle of Sulchoit. Mahon passed by Maolmuadh's chief stronghold, Rathleann, his objective point being the fort or Dun where the hostages were confined. "Sgiath an Eigis"²⁰ has been identified with the hill of Skea, in Kinelmeky, south of the Bandon river—a plausible conjecture, if there be on the hill any remains of a fort. But it is more probable that it was the ancient name of a locality in Kinelmeky, called Curravreeda, *Κορὰὸ ὑραϊζροε*, "the enclosure of the hostages." The word in the foregoing entry translated "expelled" seems rather to mean "to dislodge from one's position," "to dethrone," inasmuch as the "hostages of Munster, being carried off, Maolmuadh had no longer any security for the allegiance of those who had given the hostages, and who could not now combine with him against Mahon, who had them in his power. He was thus reduced to the position of "Lord of Desmond," as he was called by the Annalists, for "he is not a king (said the Brehon Law) who has no hostages." But, though Mahon by his sudden attack on Sgiath an Eigis had gained this great advantage, he did not succeed in conquering Maolmuadh and taking him prisoner (as one MS. of the *Wars of the Gael* asserts). Had he done so, and, as a matter of course, obtained members of Maolmuadh's family as hostages, his own life would not afterwards have been taken, with the certainty of a reprisal. The foregoing passages of the *Annals*, though most necessary for understanding the position of Maolmuadh and the motive of his subsequent animosity towards Mahon, have apparently never been read, certainly never been quoted, or made use of, by any of the numerous compilers of Irish history, in their accounts of Munster affairs in the tenth century. "Great plunders and ravages were now made by Mahon in Munster," says the author of *Wars of the Gael*, who proceeds without attending to chronological order, to specify the plundering of two Eoganacht territories (besides Maolmuadh's already mentioned), the sept lands of the Ui Enna, of Knockany, and the sept lands of Donovan,²¹ chief of

²⁰ "This is the place now called the Hill of Skea, to the south of the Bandon River, in the Barony of Kinelmeky and Co. of Cork. The son of Bron, Lord of Desmond here referred to, was Maolmuadh, ancestor of O'Mahony, chief of Kinelmeky." Editor's note, *ad loc.*, *Annals of Four Masters*, vol. ii. It is possible that Sgiath an Eigis (the shield or protection of the poet or learned man) may have been the bardic name for Rath Rathleann, and that the entry in the *Annals* was taken from some metrical chronicle, as were many other entries. Dun na-n Eigean was the bardic name for Tara (*Genealogy of Corca Laidhe*, p. 70).

²¹ Dr. O'Donovan describes this chieftain as of the "senior line" of the descendants of Olioll Olum, but he is unable to cite in support of this claim any authority but O'Flaherty, a modern writer who died in 1718. The *Book of Leinster*, p. 319, makes Lugaidh, father of Corc, King of Munster (*vide* Genealogical Table, No. I. *supra.*), the elder brother of Daire Cearba, who was the ancestor of Donovan. And in the *Book of Ballymote*, p. 172, we read:—"Olioll Flanbeg duos filios habuit, Lugaidh et Daire Cearba." Dr. O'Donovan was therefore mistaken—quandoque bonus dormitat, etc.

Ui Fidhgenti, ancestor of the O'Donovans. From this chief, however, he cannot have obtained hostages, as subsequent events plainly prove. Under the year 969 (corrected chronology) the *Annals* relate that "an army was led by Mahon, son of Kennedy, into Desmond, and he remained three nights in Corcach (Cork) and carried off the hostages of Desmond," who are distinguished from the "hostages of Munster" seized in 967.

After these events, his tribal chronicler (*Wars of the Gael*, page 85) states that: "Mahon now assumed the sovereignty of Munster, bravely and valiantly, etc., and he continued in the sovereignty six years." His reign is, therefore, alleged by the chronicler to have commenced in 970, six years before his death, and about ten years after the death of Fergraidh,²² King of Cashel. During those ten years, was the provincial throne vacant through the neglect of the Eoghanacht clans to exercise their immemorial right of appointment, or was its occupant some other chief and not Maolmuadh? No such allegations are made by the author of the *Wars of the Gael*, who thus practically admits that, in the contest for the sovereignty, Mahon was the aggressor on a Munster king already in pacific possession. Maolmuadh did not acquiesce in Mahon's aggression, but, according to the (original) *Annals of Innisfallen*, in the third year after the raid on Sgiath an Eigis, that is to say, in 970 (the very year when Mahon assumed the title of King) having mustered an army, marched towards Limerick, "obtained the hostages of Munster from Limerick to the south, and went against Mahon." The result of the encounter with Mahon is not stated. Maolmuadh would seem to have succeeded in exacting from the subordinate chiefs other hostages to replace those taken off from him in the raid of 967. In 972, the rivals again met in battle—an indecisive battle; according to an entry in the Dublin *Annals of Innisfallen*, "many fell on both sides." In the following year some opposition to Mahon's rule seems to have been manifested in West Munster, for the *Four Masters*, under the year 969 (recte 971) record that: "Mahon, son of Kennedy, led an army into Kerry and demolished several forts, amongst others Dun Fithrech." It cannot be supposed that his numerous raids and plunderings made Mahon a *persona grata* to the people of South Munster, or that they considered him to have by these means acquired the title and authority of King of the Province. It is strange that Dr. Todd, in writing his Introduction to the *Wars of the Gael*, should have implicitly followed the guidance of the author of that work

²² The *Chronicon Scotorum* of Duaid Mac Firbis has, under the year 959, the entry:—"Fergraidh, son of Clerech, King of Cashel, a suis occisus est," was killed by his own (Eoghanacht) race. This brief and obscure entry is explained by a statement in the (Dublin) *Annals of Innisfallen*, that Donal, son of Murkertagh O'Neill having devastated Munster, the inertness of the King of Munster, who did not muster an army to oppose the invader, excited the indignation of the Eoghanacht clans, who, headed by Maolmuadh, attacked and defeated Fergraidh and put him to death. This statement throws light on the circumstances under which Maolmuadh was chosen King of Munster. Dr. Todd shows conclusively (*Wars of the Gael*, appendix, p. 239) that Donogh, son of Ceallachan Cashel did not succeed Fergraidh, and was never King of Munster. The editor of the *Chronicon Scotorum* adopts Dr. Todd's conclusion and arguments. Donogh died in 961, nine years before Mahon assumed the title of King (*Chron. Scot.*).

²³ The statement of the author of *Wars of the Gael*, that Donovan's tribe were in possession of some land that had belonged to the Dalcais would require to be confirmed by some more impartial authority.

(though he was the first to call attention to that writer's partizan bias), and did not consult the *Annals* from which the above passages have been extracted. Had he read them he would not have written "that Mahon's sovereignty in Munster was acknowledged without dispute for about six years," that his opponents "did not meet him in battle," that he was "the acknowledged sovereign of Maolmuadh and Donovan," who had "submitted to him."

Mahon had hitherto succeeded by being able to bring the undivided power of the Dalcais to bear on the individual clans or partial combinations of the Eoghanacht race. But at length Maolmuadh and Donovan agreed to invite or accept the co-operation of the Danish chiefs, Imar, of Limerick, and his son, Dubhgen. To have recourse to Danish allies or mercenaries in Irish inter-tribal feuds was, unfortunately, no unusual expedient in the tenth century—King Brian himself employed Danish cavalry in his campaign against Malachi, King of Ireland, and had a Danish son-in-law, Sitric. It would be a mis-description of the motives of Maolmuadh and Donovan to say, as has been so often said, that they were incited to action by jealousy of Mahon's success; they must have been influenced by a much stronger passion, revenge for unprovoked injuries. They were not the aggressors in the feud. With every disposition to charge them with having combined with the Danes against Mahon when defending his own territory of Thomond at the battle of Sulchoit, the Dalcassian historian is unable to say more than that "they were ready, i.e. disposed, to attack the Dalcais, though not for the sake of the foreigners." He asserts that "many of the Gaels of Munster" accompanied the Danish army to Sulchoit, but in his subsequent narrative, both in prose and verse, he represents that battle as a "battle against the foreigners," an expression repeated over and over,²⁴ and no Irish names are mentioned in the list of the slain. Had either of the two chiefs who were afterwards concerned in the death of Mahon, been involved in the Danish rout at Sulchoit, the fact would have been exultingly chronicled.

The object of the confederacy formed against Mahon in the sixth and last year of his reign, is thus described: "Maolmuadh, son of Bron, and Donovan, son of Cahal, and Imar and Dubhgen,²⁵ united their hosts and revolted against (literally, turned against) Mahon" (*Wars of the Gael*, chap. lxx.) It is a gross perversion of the plain meaning of that sentence to interpret it to mean (as a certain writer did) that the four at their meeting resolved to assassinate Mahon. The history expressly states that that resolution²⁶ was agreed on subsequently by Imar and Donovan: "And Donovan in his own house betrayed Mahon, having been instigated to it by Imar of Limerick, and he delivered him up to Maolmuadh, son of Bron, and to Imar, in violation of the saints and clergy of Munster." The words, "and to Imar" appear to be an addition to the text, for the

²⁴ The compiler of the (Dublin) *Annals of Innisfallen* states that the battle of Sulchoit was gained "over the Danes," not over Danes and Irish.

²⁵ "United their hosts" meant that they resolved to unite them, for no actual combination of their troops is recorded as taking place in that year, the last year of Mahon's life.

²⁶ Dr. Todd (Introd. to *Wars of the Gael*) points out that Donovan did not "invite Mahon to a banquet" (as is often stated by modern compilers), but to a conference.

subsequent narrative shows that Mahon was delivered up to Maolmuadh alone, and that Imar was not present.

It is plain that Mahon felt greatly alarmed at the confederacy formed against him, as he consented to negotiate with Donovan (whom he, perhaps, hoped to detach from the confederacy) without even stipulating for a neutral place of meeting. He took the precaution of having Donovan's safe conduct guaranteed by ecclesiastical personages; but he should have remembered that he himself had set at nought religious influences when he plundered the venerated Abbey of Clonmacnoise. The passage above quoted clearly exonerates Maolmuadh from complicity in the plot to bring Mahon to Donovan's house. In pursuance of the resolution of the four confederates to "unite their hosts," he was on his way from the south with his clan, and had reached the district of Fermoy, then extending to the borders of the present county of Limerick, when he appears to have been made aware by a message from his ally that Mahon was being sent on to him, and at once gave the fatal order to his men. The most authentic and impartial account of this tragic event is the entry in the *Annals of Tighernach*, *Abbot of Clonmacnoise* (ob. 1088) under the year 976: "Mahon, son of Kennedy, King of Munster, was killed by Maolmuadh, son of Bron, King of the Ui Eachach, having been treacherously delivered up by Donovan, son of Cahal, King of Ui Fidhgenti." Here, again, as in the passage already quoted from the *Wars of the Gael*, no treachery is attributed to Maolmuadh.²⁷

The foregoing passages contain all that can be known about this event. The circumstantial account or accounts in the *Wars of the Gael* (chap. lix.-lx.) cannot be used as material by anyone who aims at writing a critical history of those times. Not only was the writer a strong partizan, but, "it is quite evident," says Dr. Todd, "that the narrative is not in the state in which the author left it. It bears internal evidence of mutilation and interpolation. Sundry poems have been inserted into the text, which are clearly of a more recent date. Two accounts not altogether consistent with one another are given." Nevertheless, an assortment of details derived from this work has been used, and will, perhaps, for some time continue to be used to embellish the pages of popular histories.

With no other data from the *Wars of the Gael* than the names, "Cnoc Rebhraidh" and "Raithlin Mor, in the district of Fermoy," and the statement that Maolmuadh, while at the latter place, "saw at a distance the killing of Mahon," to arrive at the conclusion that the event took place at Macroom, was no ordinary feat of antiquarian reasoning. This feat has been accomplished by altering the text of the *Wars of the Gael* against all MSS., and by making many fanciful suppositions. It has also been assumed that there was a "Leacht Mahon" (Mahon's grave) near Macroom. This latter sup-

²⁷ John Collins of Myross, in his "Pedigree of the O'Donovans," asserts that Donovan, on account of his co-operation in the death of Mahon, got from Maolmuadh "nine score of ploughlands in Carbery." This is a mere invention; the writer was addicted to the practice of making history out of his head. In a letter to a correspondent in 1859, Dr. O'Donovan wrote, "Collins, the last Irish poet and antiquary of Carbery, was a shanachie, without any critical knowledge whatever." Collins's statement was adopted by the equally uncritical O'Hart. (Irish Pedigrees—O'Donovan.)

position is negated by the account which Smith got in 1749 from the local antiquaries, who translated for him the ancient chronicle about Bealach Leachta, and gave him the traditional information on the subject that he made use of in his history; they knew nothing about a "Leacht Mahon" or about Mahon's death in that neighbourhood. The name is a modern one, imposed by the guess of some antiquary who lived after Smith's time. Even if that place-name were ancient, it would not necessarily have originated from Mahon, brother of Brian Boru, any more than Crossmahon, Ballymahon, Kilmahon, Dunmahon, &c., &c.

While unsupported by historical evidence, the opinion in question is intrinsically improbable. Why should Donovan's troops have conveyed Mahon to Macroom, ten miles west of Maolmuadh's residence, or why should the latter have instructed his own men to take Mahon to that remote locality if surrendered to them in the district of Fermoy? But enough of this visionary theory.

It was deplorable that Mahon's life should have been taken through revenge, when he might have been liberated after having been obliged to restore the "hostages of Munster" (never intended for him), and to personally give hostages as security that he would abandon the position he had usurped. But, in every age, whoever endeavoured to dethrone or displace any existing ruler, whether king, prince, or chieftain, if he fell into his adversary's hands, met the same sad fate as Mahon. In the more civilised and humane eighteenth century, if Charles Edward Stuart had been surrendered by a treacherous entertainer to the English government, to earn a reward of thirty thousand pounds, the surrender would not have been refused on account of the treachery of the entertainer, and that prince would have ended his days like Monmouth.

Maolmuadh now re-assumed the sovereignty of Munster without opposition from any quarter, and held it for two years.²⁸ In the *Book of Leinster* and the *Book of Munster*, his name is included in the list of Munster Kings, and even the author of the *Wars of the Gael*, in a passage which shall be quoted presently, acknowledges him to have been the provincial king. Brian did not claim the title which his brother had acquired. He was waiting for the time when he could assume it after having crushed all opposition. He spent two years in preparing for the final contest with Maolmuadh and the Eoghanacht. The incredible story that he sent a herald to Maolmuadh, challenging him to a pitched battle at Bealach Leachta, rests on the questionable authority of a poem interpolated in the *Wars of the Gael*.²⁹ It was not by forewarning his adversaries and

²⁸ In those lists of the Munster kings (which O'Dugan followed in his *Kings of the race of Heber*) a reign of two years commencing with the death of Mahon, is assigned to Maolmuadh. But these lists are often at variance with the *Annals*, and the authorities above quoted prove that Maolmuadh succeeded—not Mahon in 976—but Fergaith in 959.

²⁹ The following are extracts from the poem :—

"Go, O Cogaran the intelligent,
Unto Maolmuadh of the piercing blue eye,
To the son of Bron of enduring prosperity,
And to the sons of the Ui Eachach.

* * * * *

facilitating the muster of their allies that Brian won his unbroken series of victories. The idea of a challenge to a pitched battle was, probably, suggested to the bard by the old heroic legends of Ireland in which such challenges are not unusual incidents. To prepare for the impending attack Maolmuadh made a large but by no means a complete muster of the race of Eoghan; the fate of Donovan must have deterred some of the clans in Limerick and Tipperary, who might at any moment be easily invaded by Brian and his united Dalcassians. We learn from the old Irish chronicle quoted by Smith (*History of Cork*, new edition, p. 154), that, even though the Southern army was reinforced by a body of Danish allies or mercenaries, it was out-numbered by the army of Brian. At length the long expected battle was fought at Bealach Leachta,³⁰ a mile east of Macroom, at the junction of the Sullane and the Lany.³¹ "And

" Say unto the son of Bron, that he fail not
After a full fortnight from to-morrow,
To come to Bealach Lechta hither,
With the full muster of his army and his followers."

—*Wars of the Gael*, p. 104.

The bard, imperfectly acquainted with the topography of South Munster, evidently thought that Bealach Leachta was north of Rath Rathleann, Maolmuadh's residence. It will be observed that both by bards and annalists, "son of Bron" is used as a synonym for Maolmuadh. Hence Ross Mc Brin (Broin), which was the ancient name of a townland near Carrigtwohill (according to an Inquisition of the Barrymores), is a place name called after him as being one of his personal possessions.

³⁰ O'Dugan, a Connacht bard of the 14th century, in his *Kings of the race of Heber*, erroneously assumed that this prehistoric Leacht was Maolmuadh's "monument," indicating the place of his burial.

³¹ "A mile east of Macroom is a newly erected bridge over the Sullane, being there joined by the Lany a small distance from the bridge, whence running in a south-east course they enter the Lee. About three hundred yards north-west of the new bridge, in a meadow near the bank of the river, are three large stones set on edgewise to one another, the middle one being five feet broad, seven in height and two thick, but the others much smaller. About sixty yards south-east from the former is another stone set up, less than the middle one before mentioned, but larger than the side ones. These stones are said to have been erected in memory of a celebrated battle fought here between Brian Boru and the O'Mahonys of Carbery."—Smith's *History of Cork*, new edition, page 159.

Two of the stones mentioned by Smith still exist; the third has disappeared. The name Bealach Leachta signifies "The road of the monument," but the Leacht which gave a name to the adjoining road (from which contemporary annalists took the name of this battle) must have preceded the time of Brian and Maolmuadh, and was intended to commemorate some prehistoric combat. As Leachts were numerous in ancient Ireland, there were, as might be expected, other roads bearing the name of "Bealach Leachta." The compilers of the *Dublin Annals of Innisfallen* state that there were different opinions held as to the site of the battle. But there are two decisive considerations which authorise us to set aside all the localities they mention except Bealach Leachta, near Macroom. Nowhere else has there prevailed a constant tradition that a battle was fought in the vicinity by Brian and Maolmuadh. There was a ford at the battlefield—so states the author of *Wars of the Gael*, whose testimony as to such a circumstance there is no reason for rejecting. Now in none of the other localities named by the above-mentioned compilers is there a ford. Mr. Conor Murphy called attention to this circumstance in his ingenious article in the *Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal*, vol. iv., an article marred somewhat by his unbounded belief in all the statements of the Dalcassian chronicler.

In a controversy that arose on this subject in 1893 (and was carried on in Vol. II. of this

Brian fought the battle of Bealach Leachta, in which fell Maolmuadh, son of Bron, King of Munster, and with him twelve hundred of the Gaels and the foreigners" (*Wars of the Gael*, p. 109). The number of those who fell on Maolmuadh's side may be supposed to have been exaggerated by the tribal historian, who says nothing about Brian's losses. The entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under the year 976 (the true date is 978): "A battle between Brian, son of Kennedy, and Maolmuadh, Lord of Desmond, in which Maolmuadh fell, and there was a great slaughter of the men of Munster." The term "men of Munster" included both armies,³² and thus is confirmed the account of the ancient chronicle to which Smith had access, that "the battle was furiously fought on both sides." The record of the battle in the (original) *Annals of Innisfallen*, a far more ancient and accurate authority than the *Four Masters*, gives to Maolmuadh the title of King of Cashel, i.e. of Munster. Local tradition informs us that Brian took up his position on the north bank of the Sullane, and Maolmuadh on the south bank; that the battle lasted the whole day, and that the rout of the retreating army was completed at Bearn Dearg (Red Gap), a place-name still preserved in the townland of Sleveen. During the last half century, large quantities of bones of men and horses have been dug up in the battle field, ghastly memorials of the combat.

In the short account given of the battle by the author of the *Wars of the Gael*, no mention is made of the person by whom Maolmuadh was slain. "The narrative," says Dr. Todd (Introd. p. cxxxix.) "evidently implies that he was slain in a fair fight and not under any peculiar circumstances." But this did not satisfy the transcriber who interpolated the *Wars of the Gael*. After the account of the death of Mahon, he inserted into the text a forged metrical prophecy which he puts into the mouth "of a cleric." He then duly records the fulfilment of the same, i.e., that Maolmuadh "lost his eyes through the curse of the cleric" at the battle of Bealach Leachta, that he was "found in an alder hut at the ford," slain by "Aidh from the borders of Aifi," and buried on "the north side of a hill on which the sun never shines." To accept any one of those disparaging details from a partisan interpolator, the forger of a prophecy, would be a violation of the most fundamental duty of a historian. The interpolator, however, gives no support to the supposition that the slain king was buried on the battle field. The expression "on the north of a hill" (do cnuic) not "of the hill"—as erroneously translated—would be perfectly applicable to a burial place near Rath Rathleann, which was on the north side of a hill, as the writer might have heard, adding from his

Journal), it was assumed by one of the disputants, and the assumption was admitted by the other, that Dr. O'Donovan, in Vol. II., *Annals of Four Masters*, in his notes on the entries under the years 974 and 976, held that the weight of evidence was against the Macroom site. This was a mistake. Dr. O'Donovan abstained from giving any decision on the point when writing the notes referred to. But both disputants were unaware that, when he came to write the sixth and last volume of his work, further research or consideration had convinced him that the tradition mentioned by Smith, and still existing, indicated the true site of the battle, for he says (Appendix to Vol. VI., 2246,) without any hesitation or qualification, "Brian marched against the rival race of Eoghan, and came to an engagement with them at Bealach Leachta, in Muskerry, near Macroom."

31 The language of those *Annals* would seem to imply that there were no Danes present.

own imagination the circumstance that the grave was never illumined by the rays of the sun. Maolmuadh's residence was only ten miles distant, and it is not credible that one recognised as King of Munster was buried where he fell, and that his son, Cian (with whom Brian immediately made peace) did not cause him to be removed to the burial place of his ancestors, probably the Abbey of Kilbreannan, in the vicinity of Rath Rathleann. Such was the usage of the times, for, after the battle of Clontarf "thirty of the nobles who were killed were carried to their territorial churches wherever they were situated, all over Erin" (*Wars of the Gael*, p. 211). Mr. Haverty in his *History of Ireland*, gravely records that "Maolmuadh was slain by Morrough, son of Brian, a youth of fifteen years." Dr. Todd shows that the statement is not supported by historical evidence. It may be added that such an exploit of Morrough would not have been left unrecorded by the author of the *Wars of the Gael*, who exhausts on him the language of panegyric, and that such a tradition was unknown to the interpolator whose account has been already given.

Brian was now supreme in Munster, and to secure his position, "took hostages even to the sea." But he was not dominated by vindictiveness; he had the spirit of a statesman, and he wished to win to his side enemies over whom he gained a Pyrrhic victory. He made peace with Cian (pr. Kian) son of his late competitor, on terms that secured to himself reliable co-operation of great value in his subsequent campaigns. Remembering how the Eoghanacht clans, during the many centuries of their predominance, while monopolizing the sovereignty of Munster, never interfered with the right of his ancestors to the Kingdom of Thomond (North Munster), he agreed that Cian should succeed to the dignities possessed by his late father, who, as we have seen, was "Chief of the Ui Eachach" and "Lord of Desmond."³³ Moreover, he gave in marriage to the new chieftain his daughter, Sadhbh. Sadhbh (pr. Soyve) anglicised, or rather latinized "Sabia," absurdly translated "Sarah," was the daughter of Brian by his first wife, Mor, whose father was the chief of Hy Fiachra in Galway, ancestor of O'Heyne. Murrough, Brian's eldest son, was fifteen years old at the Battle of Bealach Leachta, and his sister, married very soon after to Cian, must, of course, have been somewhat older. It is absurd, therefore, to describe her as "the daughter of Brian's third wife, Gormflaith" (sister of the King of Leinster), as stated in that not very accurate production, "*The Lambeth Pedigree of the O'Mahonys*," compiled by Sir George Carew. Brian could not have married Gormflaith before the year 1009 (see *Annals Four Masters* on that year):

CIAN, SON OF MAOLMUADH.

In the traditions of the sept called after his son, Mahon, the memory of no other ancestor has been cherished in the same degree as that of "Cian na m-beann óir," "Cian of the golden cups." His prestige as having held high command at Clontarf, his boundless generosity, his tall stature and striking figure, as attested by tradition, contributed to make him the favourite hero of his descendants. The ancient topographical poems, already published in Part I. of this history, extol the intrepidity "of the chief who never turned his steps backwards in battle;" they dilate

³³ Dublin copy of *Annals of Innisfallen* at year 979.

on his profuse hospitality, and the state he kept up at Rathleann, where a bodyguard of three hundred horsemen came to him each morning, and an equal number of female attendants waited on Sadhbh in the Dun that bore her name. Mac Liag, Brian's chief bard and chronicler, expressed his admiration of Cian, not only in the poem on Rathleann, but also in the *Elegy of Kincora*, translated by Mangan, and in another *Elegy on Brian*, beginning with "Ἰσθα βεῖτε ἄνδρες ἀνθρώπων" (translated by Rev. W. H. Drummond, D.D.) from which the following is an extract:

"Grief and despair my anxious bosom fill
To hear my prince's (Brian's) joyous voice no more;
Oh! how unlike this journey drear and chill
Was that to Cian in the days of yore.
To Cian of the Carn—to Cian high
In wealth and power, I went with boundless speed,
With him could none but royal Brian vie
In every generous thought and glorious deed."

In Giolla Caomh's *Elegy on Brian and his sons* there are several stanzas on "Cian, the High Chief of the hosts from Carn Ui Neid." But the highest eulogy of him was written by one who was not a Munster man, Mac Coise, the chief bard of Malachy, the contemporary King of Ireland. Mac Coise, who had witnessed the battle of Clontarf and afterwards became a monk at Clonmacnoise. Only one stanza has been preserved:

"Ἰννεόρατο μοι τεῖρε ἀνὴρ Ἰάν,
Μακ μαορμυαῖο νὰ ν-εἰρεῖα ν-ῶϊαν,
Cé cuairiúigeas éirias d'gair éirias
Ní fáca a fámaí de ríol éirias."

The purport of these lines is, that in all his experience he knew none like Cian of the race of Heber. On the contemporary evidence about Cian, in prose and verse, Mr. Hardiman in his *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii., page 366, thus comments: "This prince bore a high character for wisdom and bravery. No one," says the historian, "seemed more worthy of the Crown of Munster or Monarchy of Ireland than Cian, and had fate so decreed it, to all appearance, Ireland would not have felt the calamity she so long endured. According to Mac Coise, chief chronicler of Ireland, who died, anno 1023, Cian was as gallant and generous a prince as the house of Heber ever produced."³⁴

³⁴ In the *Journal* of 1896, p. 449, Canon Lyons, P.P., in his article on Rathleann, writes:—"An old man in my parish, with understanding and memory undimmed by 91 years, repeated to me a legend in connection with Cian. . . . Cian is still held in honour in the traditions of the district. His Rath is called "Cathair Céin Na mbeann óir" in a verse which I heard repeated from boyhood:—

"Cathair Céin na m-beann óir
Nóir fíá a lón 'na a fáogal
Náir éirias doinne miam o na éirias
d'gair náir cuirias a tiz óé."

TRANSLATION.

"The Fort of Cian of the golden cups
Whose store outlasted his life,
Who never put anyone out of his house,
And who has not been put out of the house of God."

Cian resided, usually, at Rath Raithleann, the seat of his ancestors since the time of Corc, and often called after himself, "Rath Céin" and "Cathair Céin" (Céin genitive case). To the numerous ancient forts in its vicinity, provided for the chief's followers, he added two others which are named in one of the descriptive poems already quoted. The fact that a fort was bestowed on the chief harper and another on the trumpeter, doubtless with a retinue of attendants, shows the importance of those functionaries in the tenth century.

He appears to have occasionally lived at Enniskean, which was called after him, as Sir R. Cox was informed by the Irish antiquaries of his time. There was a fort there, Dearth Rath (Red Fort) which gave its name to the townland on which was built the village of Enniskean. By the *Four Masters*, under year 1583, this place-name was misspelt *Inniscadain*, the correct spelling, in Irish, of Inniskeen in Fermanagh. They sometimes misspelled southern names (Raithleann among the number), having a general resemblance to northern names with which they were more familiar. Southern antiquaries were, of course, better authorities on the meaning and origin of our local place names. The Irish-speaking people of that district always pronounced the word as if written in English, "Inniskayn." Cian was the hero of many folk tales, and one of them, a very ancient one, has been published by Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady in his *Silva Gadelica*, from a MS. in the Egerton Collection, British Museum. In it we read: "ocur do imtheis Cian go h-innir Céin, ocur do bi bliadain ann," and Cian went to Inniscéin (Kein) and was there a whole year," while his wound was healing. The passage confirms beyond question the traditional explanation of the name given to Cox in 1687.³⁵

For other folk tales about Cian, see last vol. *Transactions Inverness Gaelic Society*, 1907.³⁶

It has been conjectured that another of Cian's residences was in Lisbanree, a townland near Bandon that derived its name from an ancient fort, perhaps so called after Sabia, Cian's wife, though, of course, it is possible that the name existed in his father's time.

The chief events of Cian's life, after the battle of Bealach Leachta, are recorded in the *Leabhar Oiris*, a copy of which is among the O'Reilly MSS. (R. I. Academy), from which the following excerpts are taken. The chronology differs somewhat from that of the *Four Masters* :

The epithet of "the cups" must have reference to the fact recorded in the *Book of Rights*, that the King of Cashel was obliged to give yearly to the King of Rathleann ten drinking horns while the latter was exempt from tribute to Cashel. In the poems (already quoted) the place is called "Rath na geuach, of the cups." This conjecture is erroneous, for the epithet was peculiar to Cian. The quotation from the *Book of Rights* is correct.

³⁵ See Cox's *Regnum Corcagiense et Carberiae Notitia*. See also Smith's *History of Cork*, p. 14 (new edition)

³⁶ The name "Cian" (genitive case, Céin) had been previously borne by one of his ancestors, the father of Bron, and by Cian, third son of Olioll Olum, and ancestor of the tribes called the "Cianachta." In the mythical stories we find it as the name of the father of the god Lugh. It is curious that the name should also be found in the Cymric branch of the Celtic. See, in Gray's translation of the Welsh poem, "The Death of Hoel," the lines:—

"By them, my friend, my Hoel, died,
Great Cian's son," etc.

A.D. 979. War was made by Donal, son of Faelan, chief of the Deisi, and by Iomhar (Danish) chief of Portlairge against Brian and Cian, son of Maolmuadh, Brian obtained hostages and the Headship of Munster. (The battle in which the final victory was gained is not named by this chronicler, but is called the battle of Fan Conradh in the Dublin copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen*, which states that a naval expedition of the Ui Eachach assisted in this campaign).

A.D. 982. A hosting of the men of Munster under Brian and Cian to Ossory. Success of the hosting and submission of the two Leinster kings to Brian.

A.D. 999 [F.M. 998], a hosting by Brian and Cian to Glenmama, and the foreigners of Atha Cliath were defeated, etc. The victory of Glenmama (a valley near Dunlavan, County Wicklow), is now regarded as the most complete of the victories gained by the Irish over the Danes, as they took and destroyed the Danish fort of Dublin--which could not be attempted at Clontarf. It is celebrated by a poem inserted in the *Wars of the Gael* as greater than that of Moynealta, the name of the plain of which Clontarf is part. In some excavations made in that glen in 1864, one of the pits of the slain was discovered, containing human remains and a Danish sword.

A.D. 1002. A hosting of Brian and Cian to Athlone, and Brian obtained the hostages of Connaught. The date in the *Annals of the Four Masters* is 1001, and under the same year they mention another incursion to Magh Murthemne, near Dundalk, in which the Leabhar Oiris (though assigning a later date) asserts that Cian was present. Brian in A.D. 1002, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, became King of Ireland, and from this date we find no evidence that Cian personally took part in any subsequent campaign until the battle of Clontarf. But the men of the maritime portion of his sept land "and such other men of Eire as were fit to go to sea" (*Wars of the Gael*, p. 137) aided Brian in the naval expedition he organised against parts of England and Scotland, and Brian, we are told, "gave one-third of the tribute thus acquired to the warriors of Leinster and of the Ui Eachach Mumhan. Dr. Todd, who had cast some doubt on this expedition in his note on the above passage of the *Wars of the Gael*, altered his view when writing his Introduction to that work, and admitted the probability that such an event took place. In the comparatively peaceful period that followed until A.D. 1014, Cian appears to have been a frequent visitor to Brian's palace, as may be inferred from Mac Liag's "Lament," in which he apostrophises Kincora: "Where, O Kincora, is Brian, and Murrough and Conaing and Cian, the son of Maolmuadh?"

A description of the battle of Clontarf belongs to the general history of Ireland. In these pages we shall give only some excerpts showing the part taken in that memorable battle by Cian, and his clan and other followers.

In describing the preparations for the battle of Clontarf, all the ancient authorities agree in stating that there was a complete muster of the Clans of the race of Eoghan Mor, and of the other clans of South Munster. When enumerating those clans, our principal modern historians, following, as we shall show, the most trustworthy evidence available, commence with the Ui Eachach Mumhan, as admittedly the predominant power in South Munster. The following account is from Moore's *History*

of *Ireland*, vol. ii. :—"The division whose task it was to oppose the second of the enemy's corps was commanded by Cian and Donald, both princes of the Eugenic line, and of whom the former is said by the Annalists to have exceeded in stature and beauty all other Irishmen. Under these Chiefs were ranged, in addition to the warriors of their own gallant tribe [the *Ui Eachach*], the forces of the King of the Decies, and all the other septs and principalities of the South of Ireland." And in a note: "Cian was the Chief of the Eugenicians of Cashel [Munster], and son-in-law to Brian. There remain some elegies on this warrior's death."

Haverty (*History of Ireland*, chap. xiv.) defines the position of the South Munster forces without determining to whom they were opposed:—"Brian's central division comprised the troops of Desmond (South Munster), under the command of Cian, son of Molloy (ancestor of O'Mahony), and Donnell, son of Duvdavoren (ancestor of O'Donoghue), both of the Eugenic line; together with the other septs of the South, under their respective chiefs, viz. : Mothla, son of Faelan, king of the Decies; Muirkertach, son of Anmcha, chief of Hy-Liathain (a territory in Cork); Scannlan, son of Cathal, chief of Loch Lein, or Killarney; Loingseach, son of Dunlaing, chief of the territory of Hy Conall-Gavra, comprised in the present baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, in the County of Limerick; Cathal, son of Donovan, chief of Carbury-Eva (Kenry, in the same county); Mac Beatha, chief of Kerry Luachra; Geivennach, son of Dugan, chief of Fermoy; O'Carroll, king of Eile; and according to some accounts, O'Carroll, king of Oriel, in Ulster."

Dr. O'Donovan draws the same conclusion as Moore, from the MSS. authorities, in his Appendix to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. vi., where, in his account of Cathal, son of Donovan, ancestor of the O'Donovans, he says: "He was placed in the second division of Brian's forces, of which Kian, ancestor of the O'Mahonys, had the chief command, and this division contended with the forces of Leinster."

These historians justly disregarded the account given of the disposition of the Munster forces, and of their commanders, by the deeply-prejudiced writer of the *Wars of the Gael*, who could not bear to mention the name of the Eoganacht tribes at all, in the arrangements for the battle. That the ruling race in South Munster, from whom the kings of Munster were selected for many centuries, accepted as their leader Mothla, the chief of the comparatively obscure tribe of the Deisi, is intrinsically incredible. Towards the end of this book the writer shows that he was well aware of Cian's position in Munster affairs, and that he was the only rival of Donogh for the provincial throne. He cannot, therefore, have believed his own statement as to the leadership of the forces of Desmond. Only one modern writer, the author of a school history, has been so uncritical as to follow him as an authority on this point.

The authorities followed by the writers above quoted were the Dublin *Annals of Innisfallen*, and the MS. known as "The Cath Chluana Tarbh," a Munster tract that had been used by Keating. They were not acquainted with the³⁷ "Leabhar Oiris," and did not know that the former of these

³⁷The Cath Chluana Tarbh is in the shape of a narrative, based mainly on the Leabhar Oiris, but deriving some few details from some other sources. The latter work is the form of Annals. The accuracy with which it records an eclipse of the sun in 1023 tells in favour of the antiquity and credibility of its entries; if that event

authorities just mentioned was largely compiled from that record. The *Leabhar Oiris* has been traditionally ascribed to Mac Liag, who was both bard and chronicler, and though the language has been, by frequent transcription, modernized into the Irish of the sixteenth century, yet it preserves (as also does the "*Cath-Chluana Tarbh*") some grammatical forms and peculiar idioms that indicate an ancient origin. The following is an extract from an entry in this book, for A.D. 1014, recording the muster of the Southern tribes:—*Cian Mac Maolmuaidh go maireb Dearmuidh an aghur pleacta Eoghain Moir, aghur Doimnal Mac Dubhadboir-eann, Ri Cinel Laeghaire, aghur Mothla Mac Faolain Ri na-n-Deiri, 7c.. 7c.* "Cian, son of Maolmuadh, over the nobles of Desmond and tribes of Eoghan Mor, and Donal, son of Dubdavoren, Chief of Cinel Laeghere,³⁸ and Mothla, Chief of the Deisi," &c., &c. Further on, it mentions among the assembled warriors, O'Carroll of Oriel, and Maguire of Fermanagh, whose names do not appear in any other chronicle. To these it attributes a resolution to afford an example of fraternal union between northern and southern Gaels—a sentiment rarely felt in that period of disunited tribes and local partisanship:—"Ór rinne féin curteacta ir fáirde bað tuairb aghur o' Éirinn macamaoio i gcaé Céin mhe mmaolmuaidh, ó ir é ir fáirde bað deair o' Éirinn." They said: "As we are from the farthest north part of Ireland, let us join the battalion of Cian Mac Maolmuaidh, as he is from the extreme south of Ireland." This national sentiment disappears in Dr. Charles O'Connor's Latin translation:—"Debemus ire in caterva Cenii, Filii Maolmuadii, quoniam is est altissimus et pulcherri-mus Hibernorum—the tallest and handsomest of Irishmen.'" This version, so opposed to grammar and idiom, was perhaps suggested to the

was noticed and recorded by a contemporary so, presumably at least, were the historical events that are mentioned on its authority in these pages. This is a circumstance regarding this book, which, as far as the present writer knows, has not been observed hitherto. That the entry was correct can be seen by referring to the "*Art de verifier les dates*," (Tome i., p. 71), whose authors, two French Benedictines, had the original idea of calculating astronomically the past eclipses of the sun that must have occurred in the historic periods specifying when visible in western Europe, and thus affording a means of sometimes checking the accuracy of historians. From a note in page 778; vol. ii. "*Annals Four Masters*," it is plain that this work was unknown to the editor. He was not aware that it was on its authority that certain western and northern Chiefs were said to be present at the battle. As regards the northern Chiefs of Oriel and Fermanagh, its statement is to some extent corroborated by one MS. of the "*Wars of the Gael*," which says (p. 155) that Brian received support from "*beccan cuigeadh Uladh*," a small portion of Ulster, besides Meath.

As there are entries in the *Leabhar Oiris* as late as 1028, it cannot *all* have been compiled by Mac Liag, who died in 1016. It has been published in "*Eiriu*" in 1904, after a careful collation of MSS. by Mr. R. I. Best.

³⁸This was Donal's correct designation. In the *Cath Chluana Tarbh*, or rather some MSS. of it, after "Chief of the Cinel Laeghere," as in the *Leabhar Oiris*, there is added "Chief of the Ui Eachach," but this is plainly an interpolation, for the original writer placed Cian's name first, signifying his headship of the tribe, and could not consistently call another, placed after him, Chief of the Ui Eachach. This, however, misled Dr. O'Donovan, who did not know of the *Leabhar Oiris*. In his Notes to O'Heerin, he speaks of Donal "who was killed at Clontarf, and was King of Desmond." Donal was neither killed at Clontarf nor King of Desmond.

translator by the Bardic eulogies of Cian's physical and other perfections. It has been accepted and quoted by many writers, Moore, Haverty, O'Callaghan (*Hist. Irish Brigade*), without the least suspicion of its inaccuracy, which is now brought to light for the first time.

All the Irish accounts agree that the army of Brian advanced to the battlefield in three divisions against the enemy arranged in a similar formation. According to the *Leabhar Oiris*, the Dalcassian battalion, opposed to the mail-clad Norsemen, was under the command of Murrough, son of Brian; the second battalion, opposed to the Leinster men and one Danish squadron, was under the command of Cian, son of Maolmuadh; and the third battalion, composed of the Connacht tribes, was under Tadhg O'Connor of Connacht and O'Kelly of Ui Maine, and opposed to the Danes of Dublin. In the Celtic military system, allied tribes, and those from the same province, were grouped together, and each tribe formed a distinct column separated by a marked interval from the others. This peculiar formation lasted as long as the Clan system from whose exigencies it arose.³⁹

In some recent dissertations on the battle, it has been maintained that Turlough, son of Murrough, was in command of one of the three battalions. This statement will not bear investigation. Turlough was then only fifteen years old, according to the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* and the *Leabhar Oiris*, and this assertion is in accordance with Brian's age as determined by the date of his birth, given in the *Annals of Ulster* (A.D. 941), and in accordance also with the numerous passages of the *Wars of the Gael*, which describe Murrough as in the prime of life and in the fulness of his strength. Moreover, the latter work expressly says that the youthful hero, Turlough, was placed, where we would expect one of his years to be, "along with (air oen ris, at one place with) his father, Murrough."

The question—whether the Norse Sagas confirm and supplement the Irish accounts of the battle—has, in recent times, been minutely investigated. That there should be a considerable discrepancy as to details is what might be expected from the fact that the two sources were by no means contemporaneous, the Sagas having been compiled at least a century later than the Irish chronicles. On the other hand, it might reasonably be supposed that some circumstances, not noticed by the Irish writers, may have been impressed on the memory of the "Foreigners of Dublin," and from them may have come to the knowledge of the compilers of the Scandinavian accounts. In the *Njal Saga* we are told that Brodir and Sitric of Dublin commanded the wings and Earl Sigurd the centre of the Danish army. It confirms the Irish account that the Irish army had been formed into three divisions. The commander of the wing opposed to Brodir is named Ulf Hroda, the commander of the centre Kerthialfad, and the commander of the other wing (opposed to Sitric), Ospak. The first of these leaders is described as a brother of

³⁹It was exhibited, almost for the last time, at Killiecrankie in 1689:—"It was desirable to keep the clans distinct. Each tribe, large or small, formed a column separated from the next column by a wide interval. One of these battalions might contain seven hundred men, while another consisted of only one hundred and twenty. Lochiel had represented that it was impossible to mix men of different tribes without destroying all that constituted the peculiar strength of a Highland army."—Macaulay (*Hist. England*).

Brian, the second is the son of another Irish King, and the third is a Norse auxiliary of the Irish. Now, the statement of the Irish chronicles (1) that Murchadh (Murrough), son of Brian, was commander of the battalion opposed to Broder, and (2) that the other battalions were under chiefs who were not blood relations of the King, is thereby substantially confirmed. The substitution of "brother of Brian" for "son of Brian" is just what might be expected to happen as the result of transmission by oral tradition, and that point of difference does not affect the impression produced on the reader, that the two accounts, so far, correspond. How the name Murchad came to be represented by Ulf Hroda is a question more curious than important. The name as it stands is Norse, and has been interpreted by Dr. Dasent "Wolf the quarrelsome." Such an uncomplimentary soubriquet may have been suggested by the account which Maolmordha, King of Leinster, gave to his Danish allies about the provocation he received from Murrough at Kincora; the soubriquet, as has often happened, may have supplanted the real name among the foreigners.

"It is not easy," says Dr. Todd (*Introd. Wars of the Gael*, c. ixxv.), "to identify . . . Kerthialfad with any of the chieftains on Brian's side known in Irish history." Who was Kerthialfad? Mr. J. H. Lloyd, in a learned and elaborate article in the *New Ireland Review* (Sept. and Oct., 1907), has sought to identify him with Turlough. This view may be summarily set aside, for the youthful Turlough was not a "commander" of any of the three battalions of the Irish army, as has been already proved. "Kerthialfad," says the *Njal Saga*, "was the son of King Kylfi, who had many wars with King Brian, and fled away out of the land before him, and became a hermit; but when King Brian went south on a pilgrimage, then he met King Kylfi, and then they were atoned, and King Brian took his son, Kerthialfad, to him, and loved him more than his own son. He was then full grown when these things happened, and was the boldest of all men." Now, Cian was (1) a commander of one of the three divisions of the army, (2) was the son of a King (Maolmuadh), (3) who had been at war with Brian, (4) and was defeated at Bealach Leachta, and (5) whose son was reconciled to Brian "in the South," and (6) became Brian's son-in-law, and (7) his valour has been amply attested by Mac Coise,⁴⁰ Malachy's chronicler, who was present at Clontarf, and by Mac Liag.⁴¹ The points of resemblance between the Cian of history and the "Kerthialfad" of Norse tradition are numerous and striking; they are certainly not overborne by the inevitable points of difference. The mention of the "South" in connection with the origin of the commander named in the *Saga* is specially significant. It cannot, of course, be asserted absolutely that there is a resemblance between Cian Mac Maolmuadh (the full name) and Kerthialfad, though both begin with a K sound, and the last syllables of each, "alfad" and "aolmhuad" (with m aspirated) are not unlike. But, as has been said in the case of Ulf Hroda, the name may have been originally a Norse appellation for an Irish opponent, intelligible at first, but altered by corruption into its present form in the *Saga*. It may be objected that the Norse-named chief cuts his way towards Earl Sigurd, and kills his standard-bearer, whereas Cian's battalion was opposed to the Leinster men, and to a Danish squadron not commanded by Sigurd. The obvious answer is, that the Irish

⁴⁰Supra, p. 40.

⁴¹Supra, p. 40.

chronicles define the position of the battalions on both sides only at the commencement of the battle, and those that were widely separated in the morning might be, and doubtless were, brought into collision in the course of the day.

After the dearly-purchased victory was won, no surviving chief was entitled to command, and accordingly, the Leabhar Oiris tells us, "it was the advice of Cian, son of Maolmuadh, and Tadhg, son of Brian, to bring all the wounded to Kilmainham, and to encamp there for that night." Next day, they, doubtless, occupied themselves in the burial of the slain, while awaiting the coming of Donogh, son of Brian, who returned towards evening, bringing from the spoliation of the Danish and Irish territories (a task assigned to him the day before the battle) much-needed supplies for the victorious army. On the following day, the men of Munster commenced their homeward march, in one body, and in the evening reached Mullaghmast, in the present County of Kildare, five miles east of Athy and about twenty-four miles from Kilmainham. There they separated into two camps. On the summit of a mound (Mullach) stood the historic Rath of Mullaghmast, one of the royal residences of Leinster, but then left unoccupied. Donogh took possession of the Rath as a camping ground, influenced probably by an apprehension of an event that came to pass next morning. "Donogh, son of Brian, and Tadhg, son of Brian, had a separate camp in the Rath of Mullachmaisteam for the survivors of the Dalcais, and Cian had another camp with the tribes of the race of Eoghan Mor" (L. O.). That encampment was a turning point in the history of the Uí Eachach Mumhan.

Cian had never reconciled himself to the subordinate position that he was obliged to hold during the time of Brian's predominance. Now at length the opportunity appeared to him to have arrived for recovering the hostages which the prudent Brian did not fail to exact from him, son-in-law though he was, and associate in so many battles. The restitution of the hostages would restore his independence, but he hoped, moreover, to extort from the present necessities of Brian's sons a recognition of his own claim to the sovereignty of Munster. As the Dalcassians marched to their separate camp that evening, their greatly diminished numerical strength was obvious to the spectators. Their heroic leader, Murchadh, had claimed the right of leading them against the mail-clad Norsemen, and though the battle-axe had triumphed over the coat of mail, the ranks of the Dalcassians had been woefully thinned. That the men of Desmond suffered very much less was due to the circumstance that their opponents at Clontarf were less perfectly equipped; nevertheless a large proportion of their valiant chieftains were slain (*Wars of the Gael*, p. 171). The disparity of numbers between Eoganacht and Dalcais was probably not exaggerated by the author of the Leabhar Oiris when he wrote: "Donogh had but one thousand men, and Cian had three thousand."

Resolving to lose no time in availing himself of the present opportunity, Cian, we are told (L. O. n. 43), "at the break of day sent a messenger to the sons of Brian, conveying his formal demand for a restoration of his hostages, and for a recognition of him as King of Munster. He based his claim on the seniority of the line of Eoghan Mor⁴²—"ba ríne Eóghan Mór na Corrmac Cár"—assuming—what was undoubtedly true—that among those

⁴²As has been observed in a previous page, he does not base his claim on any "right to alternate sovereignty;" he ignores the existence of that alleged law of succession.

of his own line he had no competitor for the position. Donogh replied, "that as regards the hostages, Brian had obtained the sovereignty by force from Cian's father and from himself," and that he would maintain what his father, Brian, had done, and "would not give Cian the sovereignty, if he (Donogh) had the full strength of his army." In short, Donogh yielded to necessity. At this stage of the proceedings, Donal, son of Dubdavoren, the head of the Cinel Laeghere branch of the Ui Eachach tribe, being informed of what was going on, and perceiving that Donogh was consenting to grant Cian's demand for hostages, asked Cian "What advantage will it be for me that the Dalcais should hand you over the sovereignty?" Cian replied that he did not propose to give Donal any share beyond what he had already, his patrimony (Féinacas Féin, his legal right) in the Ui Eachach tribe-land. "In that case," replied Donal, "I will take no part in exacting hostages and sovereignty for you." "You will come by compulsion even from your own house to do so," said Cian. "We will wait for the compulsion," was Donal's reply, and he ordered the Cinel Laeghere to detach themselves from Cian's forces.

Donogh observing the evidence of hopeless dissension between the two leaders of the rival race of Eoghan, marched off with his followers to Athy, where in refusing Mac Giolla Padraig's demand for hostages, he said that "It was no wonder that Cian Mac Maolmuadh, considering the size of his army, should ask for hostages, but it was a wonder that such a demand should come from a chief of the Osraighe" (Leabhar Oiris).

The account above given of the events that occurred at Mullaghmast, is taken almost verbatim from the Leabhar Oiris and the Cath Chluana Tarbh. These compilations are of Dalcassian origin; their authors show themselves to be ardent admirers of Brian and of his sons, Murchadh and Donogh. But they exhibit no prejudice against the South Munster Chieftains, and their account bears the impress of impartiality. Very different is the narrative of the author of the *Wars of the Gael*. From a reluctance to mention Cian's name he says, "that the men of Desmond agreed to send a message demanding hostages from the sons of Brian." This is an absurd statement, for the hostages would not, of course, be given to the men of "Desmond" in general, but to the chief who claimed them as an appanage and security of provincial sovereignty. Moreover, there was no such consultation and agreement among the "men of Desmond," as is plain from his own subsequent account of the views of Donal Mac Duvdavoren. The writer puts into the mouths of the "men of Desmond" his own favourite theory of the "alternate sovereignty." He asserts that Donogh stoutly refused their demand, a manifest improbability, seeing that there must have been a very great disparity of forces, and he gives, in this connection, a replica of the incident of the wounded insisting on being placed in battle array, an incident which occurred in the encounter with the comparatively small force of Mac Giolla Padraig, Chief of Ossory. The "men of the South" are, of course, terrified at this display of bravery by the wounded, and shrink from battle. Finally, he finds it impossible to narrate the dissension that occurred among the men of the South without telling of the dispute between Cian and Donal, and from this we discover that he was well aware that not "the men of Desmond," but Cian, made the demand on Donogh for

hostages. This writer is truly described by Dr. Todd as "full of the feelings of clanship and of the partisanship of the time" (Introd., p. ccl.). Such an author's narrative could not, therefore, be adopted in preference to that which has been above given from a less prejudiced Dalcassian authority. ⁴³"When Cian saw Donal, and he red in the face, and with every sign of anger and fury, drawing off his followers, the Cinel Laeghere, he came and announced to him to be prepared for battle." Donal accepted the challenge, and they agreed that their troops should proceed homewards together ("side by side"), and should not commence hostilities until they arrived within the Ui Eachach territory at the plain of Magh Guilidhe. The revolt against his authority within his own tribe dispelled from Cian's mind for the time being the ambitious design he had formed. It is plain from the record that we are following, that Donal had not "laid claim to the sovereignty of Munster," as Haverty (*Hist. of Ireland*, chap. xiv.) erroneously asserts. And it would seem that he would have acquiesced in Cian's possessing the hostages, if an equitable share of the tributes and other acquisitions expected from the overthrow of Brian's power in Munster had been promised him. The stipulation would not seem an unreasonable one for a powerful chief, the son of a former king of Munster (died A.D. 957) to put forward. But from Cian's point of view, any such partitioning would be tantamount to breaking up the unity of the ancient sovereignty of Munster. At all events, the dissensions of that Easter Monday morning, A.D. 1014, disrupted for ever the unity of the Ui Eachach tribe, which had now lasted for over four centuries, free from intestinal feuds. The Cinel Aedha and the Cinel Laeghere never again met in peace and amity. They proceeded to the plain of Magh Guilidhe, which constant tradition has identified with the townland of Maglin, near Ballinacollig. There the fratricidal strife commenced. There is no definite statement as to which party won the victory, but in all the Annals, Innisfallen, Ulster, Clonmacnoise,⁴⁵ *Four Masters*, there is an entry commencing "A battle between the Ui Eachach themselves," and recording the death of Cian and his brothers, Cahal and Raghallach. The death of a leader—as the example of Clontarf and other Irish battles shows—by no means implies the defeat of his followers. The *Leabhar Oiris* in stating that Cian and his brothers, Cathal and Raghallach,⁴⁶ fell, adds "amidst a great slaughter of the men of the South of Ireland." From the latter expression we would infer that other allied tribes in the South took part in the contest, that both parties suffered severely, and that there was no decisive victory. The same compiler proceeds to inform us that "Immediately on hearing of the death, of Cian, Donogh, son and successor of Brian, came down to the South, united his forces with those of Mahon, son of Cian, and gave battle to Donal, whose son, Cahal, was slain. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Donal gave hostages. The following year another battle

⁴³Leabhar Oiris.

⁴⁴Smith, *History of Cork*, book iv., chap. x.

⁴⁵The "*Annals of the Four Masters*" misplace this entry. See editor's note about their error on A.D. 1013.

⁴⁶The name of Raghallach (gen. Raghallaigh) son of Maolmuadh, is embodied in "Inchirahilly," the name of a townland adjoining Dun Draighnean, which, as we have seen, was one of Cian's forts. That the name should have been preserved so long is not surprising, when we consider that the analogous name Inniscean (Enniscean) called after Cian, and Rath Culleen, called after Cian's harper, have survived for the same length of time. The name of Dun Draighnean (now Castlemore) is only partially preserved in "Carrig an Dúna," the name still given to the rocky mound on which the castle stands.

took place, which the *Leabhar Oiris* records as follows:—"A.D. 1015, a hosting by Donogh, son of Brian, and Mahon, son of Cian, and Donal, son of Dubhdavoren, was killed by Mahon in revenge for his father." Donal would seem to have been assisted by the Chief of O'Liathain, whose "death by Mahon" is immediately after recorded. According to the usage of Annals, "to be killed" by a chieftain or king does not mean killed by him personally, but by his soldiers in battle.⁴⁷

The compilers of the (Dublin) *Annals of Innisfallen*, who made copious use of the *Leabhar Oiris*, deliberately inverted the foregoing entry, and set it down as follows: "A.D. 1015, a hosting by Donogh, &c., and Mahon fell by Donal." Dr. O'Brien, one of the two compilers, repeats this statement, or misstatement, in the *Essay on Tanistry*, already quoted (in foot note, p. 1), published in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, vol. i. It is no wonder that Dr. O'Donovan frequently censured this author's mode of manufacturing history. There is a discrepancy between the entry we have given from the *Leabhar Oiris* and that in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and *Chronicon Scotorum* about the above-mentioned battle. According to those Annals, "Donal led an army to Limerick, and there was met by Donogh and Tadhg, defeated and slain." Now (1) as Donal already "gave hostages," it is incredible that he would commence hostilities as described; (2) by an expedition to Limerick he would leave his tribe-land to be devastated by his hostile kinsmen of the Cinel Aedha, and it is extremely improbable that he would be guilty of such imprudence. Moreover, we do not know where lived the original author of the entry that those Annalists embodied in their works; but we do know that the *Leabhar Oiris* was written by a Munster man, and one who followed with special interest the history of the Ui Eachach. Cahal, son of Donal, whose death is recorded above, was a young man of great promise, who had, the year before Clontarf, defeated a Danish expedition that had attacked and burned Cork (*Annals Four Masters*). After the death of his father, Donchadh (genitive case, Donchada), the second son of Donal, became Chief of the Cinel Laeghere, who from him derived, about the end of the century, the hereditary surname of O'Donchada (O'Donoghue). It may be regarded as certain that under this chieftain took place the migra-

⁴⁷In not a few instances the Annalists, in recording the death of a King or Chief, ascribe it to his violation of the rights of a church or monastery. To account for the death of so powerful a chief as Cian, a legend grew up, or rather a story was invented, that as he was passing by Kinneigh on the day before the battle of Magh Guilidhe, his soldiers took some of the provisions that were being carried to workmen engaged on St. Mocholmóg's Church and Round Tower, and that Cian did not apologise for this, whereas Donal, who passed by about the same time, apologised for the action of his men who did the same as Cian's. The inventor of the story thought that Kinneigh was somewhere on the line of march from Mullaghmast to Magh Guilidhe; or if he knew its position, he did not perceive that he was inventing a motiveless journey for the two way-worn battalions twenty miles on to Kinneigh and back again next day to the selected battle-field that they had passed by. Had St. Mocholmóg met the two chiefs, that good man would have tried to prevent bloodshed instead of uttering for a trivial matter the imprecation that a sanguinary shanachie invented and attributed to him. The story got attached to the end of the "Cath Chluana Tarbh," the Irish MS. from which Smith (*Hist. of Cork*) gives it, quoting the MS. very incorrectly, and stating erroneously that Donal was "married to a daughter of Brian." He confuses Cian's contest with Donal, and Cian's contention with Donogh, son of Brian, as given in the Irish MS.

The tower of Kinneigh, in Cian's tribe land, and near Enniskean, which has been shown to be one of his residences (page 114, supra) must have been built by his assistance. That was, in substance, the local tradition. "The tradition is," says Canon Lyons in his account of Kinneigh, "that the Round Tower was built by the O'Mahonys after the battle of Clontarf. This agrees with the facts of history; these towers were built in large numbers in Brian's time, &c." (*Cork Hist. & Arch. Journal*, vol. ii., A.D. 1893).

tion of the Cinel Laeghere to Magunihy, in Kerry, where they displaced the ancient branch of O'Carroll of the "Eoghanacta Locha Léin," and gave to that territory the name of Eoghanacht Ui-Donoghue. No record giving the exact date of their migration has hitherto been found, but it may be assumed that they would not take the resolution of abandoning the fertile tribe-land that their ancestors held, for an unknown and less promising region, except under pressure of some great disasters, such as those already mentioned in the year A.D. 1015. Now, neither in the *Leabhar Oiris*, whose entries may be said to terminate with the record of the death of Mahon, son of Cian, nor in the original *Annals of Innisfallen*, though these have entries about the son and grandson of Mahon, nor in any other *Annals* is there a reference to a subsequent conflict, in the course of the eleventh century, between the Cinel Laeghere and their former fellow-tribesmen of the Cinel Aedha. Had it taken place it would have been recorded, as well as the previous conflict of Magh Guilidhe in A.D. 1014. Under the date 1049, in the (original) *Annals of Innisfallen*, we find that "the Finnsuileach" O'Donoghue, "Chief of Ui Eachach," was at war with the people of Corcaguiney, a district west of Magunihy, and was slain by them. The contest was continued by his successor, Loingseach, "grandson of Donal," his predecessor's brother or cousin, and he too was slain. We may fairly infer from this that the tribe had already migrated to the western part of Magunihy, and was endeavouring to extend their new territory into the land of O'Falvey. Cahal, the father of Finnsuileach above mentioned, is described in the record of his death as "Lord of Ui Eachach, that is, of Rathleann." But the Four Masters took this entry from the Annalist of Innisfallen, who had given, as local compilers not unfrequently did, a merely complimentary designation to the local chief. To give to Cahal a designation taken from the old tribe-land now irrecoverably lost to him was to give him an empty title indeed. The original possessors of Magunihy, the O'Carrolls, were not completely displaced, all at once, by the invaders, but continued to live on, for some time, in a part of their possessions. There are three entries about their chiefs, each called "Ri Eoganachta Locha Lein," in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, but after 1108 they disappeared from history, and their time-honoured designation was transferred to the O'Donoghue Chiefs, one of whom—another "Finnsuileach"—is called "Ri Locha Lein" in the *Annals of Innisfallen*, A.D. 1110. The Clan O'Donoghue displayed during the entire course of its history an undeviating attachment to the cause of Celtic independence. The last O'Donoghue Mor joined the Desmond insurrection; he fell in battle in 1582, and his Sept-land was given by Elizabeth to Mac Carthy Mor. His memory, or rather his name, still lives in the well-known legends of Killarney. The junior branch, the O'Donoghues of Glenflesk, succeeded in maintaining their tribal existence, within their fastnesses, for many years after all other Munster tribes were extinguished.⁴⁸ Between them and a branch

⁴⁸The O'Donoghues of Kerry are of a distinct race from the O'Donoghues of Leinster (now Dunphy) and the O'Donoghues of Eoganacht Cashel, i.e. of the barony of Iffa and Offa, County Tipperary. They have been confounded with the latter tribe even by Dr. O'Donovan in his notes to O'Heerin. There are five or six entries in the "Annals" about the tribe of Eoganacht Cashel, in the eleventh century. The first of these entries is in 1014, "Dungal O'Donoghue." The name implies a grandfather, named Donchadh, who must have been born a hundred years before, and was therefore not Donchad, the son of Donal Mac Duvdavoren, who was the ancestor of the O'Donoghues of Killarney, in whose genealogy the Christian names Dungal, Cuduligh and Macraith are not found.

of the O'Mahons of Ivagha, that settled in Kerry in 1320, there were frequent intermarriages.

It has not been possible to identify the Dun which was the residence of Donal, son of Duvdavoren. As Donal was a powerful chief, that Dun must have been an important one, surrounded by a number of Rathes for his military followers. Possibly, as Rath Rathleann was not identified until about ten years ago, some old MS. may yet be discovered which may describe the site of the Dun inhabited by Donal. The site should not, of course, be sought for in Kinalea and Kinelmeky, the original home of Cian's branch—the senior branch—of the Ui Eachach before it spread westwards. Cinel Laeghere did not become a place-name, but the name of Selbach (genitive, Shelbhaigh), fourth in descent from Laeghere, was very probably contained in Ballyshelbhaigh (now Ballyhalwick), in the parish of Dunmanway, and ⁴⁹Coill-tShelbhaigh, an immense wood which extended over the eastern part of the same parish and portion of the parish of Kinneigh. Dr. O'Brien, in the Essay already quoted (Vallancey's *Collectanea*, vol. i.), indulges in some conjectures as to the habitat of this branch, and mentions, with some other localities, Ibh Laoghaire (Ivleary), but the Laoghaire who gave his name to that Sept-land of the O'Learys was of Corcalee origin, and of a totally distinct race from the Laoghaire, the ancestor of a branch of the Ui Eachach Mumhan. The same writer's conjectures as to the time and cause of the migration to Magunihy are equally erroneous and have been refuted in the foregoing pages.

The Cinel Aedha, by the migration of the kindred tribe to Killarney, were left in exclusive possession of the extensive Sept-land, burthened with the task of defending it, with a diminished population. We shall find them designated in the Annals, until the end of the twelfth century, by the old tribe name, "Ui Eachach Mumhan," and, subsequently, by the hereditary surname derived from Mahon, son of Cian, of whom now some account is to be given.

⁴⁹Clan t-Sealbhaigh was one of the tribal names of the O'Donoghues. O'Heerin says :

O'Donoghue of Loch Léin,
O'Donoghue of the full, strong Flesk
Are over the Clann t-Sealbhaigh.

[Addenda—An ancient poem in the *Book of Leinster* (Facsimile Ed. 46a) preserves the memory of a Ri Rathleann who is mentioned among the notables of Munster, who are contrasted with those of Leinster. From the names of some of those contemporaries, he must have flourished in the ninth century :—

niú-din fingen, ná aílil,
Ocup tādú rātlino pobino,
niú-din 'domnall a tūnláir.

Fingin won't save thee nor Ailil,
Nor Tadhg of pleasant Rathleann,
Nor Donal of Dun Lair.

According to the Dublin "Annals of Innisfallen," "Mahon, son of Kennedy . . . was delivered up to Maolmuadh, and his brothers, Tadhg and Brian." Nothing more is known of these brothers, but the name of the latter is very probably contained in Curragh ui Briain, the name of a townland near Rath Rathleann, and in Farranbrien in Kinelea. In the "Essay on Tanistry," which includes a history of King Brian Boru and his successors, written by Dr. O'Brien, but published by Vallancey as his own, Maolmuadh is described as "the most powerful, the most restless, and the most ambitious of the Chiefs of the Eugenian line." One would think that Mahon, his opponent, and the aggressor in the feud, as we have shown, was better entitled to the two latter epithets. The writer goes on to say that "Maolmuadh treacherously murdered Fergraidh, King of Cashel," and gives as his authority the "Book of Munster." The "Leabhar Muimhnach" has been minutely examined, and, it may now be stated with confidence, no such assertion is to be found in it.]

PART III.

From the Accession of Mahon (A.D. 1014) to the Division of the Sept after A.D. 1212.

Mahon (Ματθαῖαν), son of Cian and Sabia, daughter of Brian, who were married soon after the Battle of Bealach Leachta, A.D. 978,¹ may have been about thirty-four years of age when he succeeded his father in A.D. 1014. The first who is recorded as having borne the name of Mahon was Brian's elder brother, and it is not unlikely that the son of Cian was called after him as a further token of reconciliation with Brian. As the μῆτορμα, or heir apparent of the Chief of the Ui Eachach, Mahon must, as a matter of course, have taken part in the eventful Battle of Clontarf. In every military expedition undertaken by a Tribe, the presence of the Tanist or heir apparent was as indispensably required as that of the Chief himself. This we learn from a multitude of passages in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and other Annals in which the μῆτορμα is mentioned among the slain. It will be remembered that at Clontarf the youthful heir of Murchadh, though scarcely of an age to bear arms, was in the fighting line.

When the Cinel Laeghere Branch of the Tribe, in or about A.D. 1015, migrated to Magunihy in Kerry, Mahon and his Branch, the Cinel Aedha, were left in undisputed possession of the entire Eoghanacht Ui Eachach, or Eoghanacht Raithleann. He is called in the *Leabhar Oiris*, "Rí na naoi tíríonn, King (Chief) of the nine territories." Investigation will show that this title implies an expansion of the Tribe-land beyond its limits in the ninth and tenth centuries, as described in the introductory portion of this history. To determine its extent in Mahon's time, we must call to mind that in ancient Ireland (and in England also, as Mr. Green has shown in his *Making of England*) Dioceses were as a rule coterminous with the tribal limits. The Ui Eachach Sept-land was the original Diocese of Cork, as Corcalee, the patrimony of O'Driscoll, was identified with the Diocese of Ross, Ui Fidhgenti with the Diocese of Limerick, the Kingdom of Meath with the extensive Diocese of Meath,² and "there is evidence that since the introduction of Christianity Mac Giolla Padruig's land of Osraighe never extended beyond the bounds of the present Diocese of Ossory." (O'Donovan, Notes to O'Heerin.)

Hence the old ecclesiastical arrangements, whenever better known,

¹ The compiler of the (Dublin) "Annals of Innisfallen" (circa 1760) has the following under the year 978:—"Peace was made between Brian and Cian, and Sadbh, the daughter of Brian, was given in marriage to Cian, and the tributes of the race of Eoghan Mor, and his (Cian's) hereditary portion from Cork to Carn Ui Neid, until Saerbretach should come to the sovereignty." The concluding portion of this entry affords another instance of this Annalist's habit (which O'Donovan often refers to) of manipulating facts mentioned in ancient records that he had access to, so as to make them accord with a theory of his own. It is simply incredible that the ambitious Brian ever contemplated that anyone outside his own family should obtain the sovereignty of Munster, which he had won by a severe struggle. In the contentions, already narrated from every available source, that occurred after Brian's death, no one thought of Saerbretach, either in connection with Munster or Desmond; he lived and died in obscurity, being mentioned only in genealogical lists. The compiler was under the influence of the prominent position obtained by Saerbretach's posterity in the twelfth century.

² Formed by a union of older Dioceses within the bounds of Meath.

help us to reconstruct tribal limits and vice versa. "The boundary between Ely O'Carroll and ancient Meath," says O'Donovan (Notes to O'Heerin, p. lxxiv.), "is determined by that of the Diocese of Killaloe and the Diocese of Meath."

The Diocese of Cork, according to the Synod of Rathbreasil, which was held about 70 or 80 years after Mahon's death, extending "from Cork to Carn Ui Néid, and from the Abhain Mor (Blackwater) to the southern sea." The Ui Eachach tribe land, as has been already proved by many testimonies, had the same eastern and western boundaries, and, that its northern and southern limits also coincided with those of the Diocese, is a justifiable inference from the numerous examples above quoted to show the relation of Tribeland and Diocese in ancient Ireland. The inference is confirmed by the ancient quatrain preserved by Smith, which gives "the Paps on the North and the Southern Main" as the limits of the Sept-land in the time of "Flan, a predecessor of Bece."

The sub-denominations of the Tribe-land naturally became the "Decanatus" or Deaneries of the Diocese, and from the account of those Deaneries taken at a Government Inquisition in 1615 from the old "rolls of the Diocese of Cork," which had come into the possession of Bishop Lyons (State Papers, A.D. 1588), we can recover the names of most of the "nine territories" (ἡοαὶ ὕῤῥων) over which Mahon ruled. The Deaneries were seven—Kinelea, divided into Kinelea Citra and Kinelea Ultrá (this latter identified with Kinelmeky); Kerri-currihy, Kilmughan or Ifflanloe (Uí Fíáin Luath), Clanshealvy, Fonn-Iartharach, and the city, with its suburban parishes. Kinelea Ultra included "Ringrone, Killanay, Kilgobbin, Particula Gortnagross Templetryne, Rathclarine, Burrin, Kilbrittain, Rathdroutha, Dowagh alias Ballinady, Kilmodan alias Ballymodan, Knockavilly, St. Martin's (i.e., Templemartin), Innishannon, Kilbrogan, St. Michael's de Dowagh." This corresponds with O'Heerin's Kinelmeky, extending to "the harbour of white foam." But Kinelmeky, when these ecclesiastical divisions were made, was only a tribal and not yet a territorial name; otherwise it would have given its name to this Deanery called Kinelea Ultra. The Deaneries of Kinelea (Citra) and Kerri-currihy are the Baronies at present designated by the same names. Clanshealvy (Clann t-Sealbhig) included the parishes from Kinneigh to Drimoleague, with Ballymoney and Murragh. The Deanery of Kilmughan (otherwise "Ifflanloe") comprised Athnowen and Inchageela and the parishes that lie between them. The Deanery of Fonn-Iartharach ("western land"), erroneously given as "Foueragh" in the document of 1615, contained the six western parishes, already mentioned in the Introduction. (*Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal*, Oct.-Dec., 1906, p. 191).

Kerri-currihy at the close of the ninth century was a district with a chief of its own, "Fogarthach the Wise," who was slain in the battle of Ballaghmughna, in which Cormac Mac Cuilenan, King of Cashel, was defeated, in 903 (*Annals Four M.*). But it must have been subsequently annexed, or at least made tributary, by the Ui Eachach Chiefs. Place names derived from Mahon are conclusive on that point. Lough Mahon (Loch Maetgamna), at the eastern boundary, was probably so called from being the meeting place of the fleet of ships for which Mahon's tribe was noted in the time of King Brian. Ring Mahon (Rinn Maetgamna),

"Mahon's headland," was at one time the name of a parish containing eight ploughlands. There was also a Carrigmahon.

Corcach (Cork), for many centuries the eastern boundary of the tribe-land, had become a part of it in the time of Cian and Mahon. The locality in which St. Finbar established his monastery, the nucleus of the future city, was according to the ancient Irish "Life of Barra," chapt. xiii., in the district of the Uibh Iair. These were a kindred tribe, being the descendants of the youngest son of Corc, king of Munster, Iar, about whom the *Annals* are silent, though his name is preserved in the genealogical lists in the Books of Leinster and Ballymote. But in the eleventh century Corcach had become dependent for protection on the Ui Eachach; in Cian's time in the year 1012 they went to the rescue of the city when being burned by the Danes, and Cathal, son of Donal, son of Duvdavoren, distinguished himself by killing the leaders of the foreigners. Again, as we shall see later on, in the time of the grandson of Mahon, in 1088, the Clan saved the city from an incursion of the Leinster Danes. It cannot be supposed that, at such a period, Corcach was independent of the neighbouring Chief, on whom it had to rely for protection.

As Kinelea, though ecclesiastically divided, was one tribal sub-denomination, we can make out only six of the "nine territories" from the seven Deaneries enumerated. A seventh territory would be Musgrylin (*Murgharðe Flainn* or *Flóinn*³), a Deanery, comprising a number of parishes between the Blackwater and the Lee, belonging to the original Diocese of Cork (according to the Synod of Rathbreasil), but attached to Cloyne subsequently. There remain two territories unidentified. Hence it may be concluded that Mahon must have acquired two other districts outside his old hereditary Sept-land and outside the Diocese of Cork. Where are we to look for these? Perhaps some light is thrown on the question by the place-name Dunmahon, and by the tradition mentioned by Smith in the following passage of his *History of Cork* (p. 320, New Ed.):—"To the west of Fermoy lies Carriganedy, i.e., the rock of the shield, where stood a castle (qu. Dun?), said to have been built by the Mahonys."

During the Chieftainship of Mahon, in the year 1024, occurred the death, by assassination, of a remarkable man, Cuan O'Lochan, Ollamh and Chronicler, who in both capacities was long associated with Rath Rathleann, near which a special residence⁴ was appropriated to him by Cian. His death is recorded by several Annalists, and by the *Leabhar Oiris* in the following terms:—A.D. 1024. *CUAN*⁵ *O'Lochain* ἀποτίτε δ' αὖτ' ἐρανέσασθε Céin mic Maelmuaid ὅσο μάριβας." "This year was killed Cuan

³ Muskry Flainn or Flóinn (varieties of spelling) originally included "Ifllonloe" as well as the Deanery "Musgrylin." The Flan mentioned in the Irish quatrain preserved in Smith ("Hist. of Cork," new Ed., p. 14) as a predecessor of Bece (a quo Kinelmeky) as having conquered the entire of Muskerry is identified with Criomphthan (Criffan) Rí Rathleann, the father of Aedh and Leaghery, ancestors of the two branches of the Ui Eachach. This is clear from a stanza in the "Leabhar Oiris" version of the topographical poem on Rath Rathleann:—

"Címel Laeǵeire mic Flóinn."

Criomphthan, therefore, the father of Aedh and Laeǵhere, must have borne also the name of "Flóinn" or "Flan."

⁴ See Topographical Poem already given in this "Journal," vol. xiii., No. 73, p. 31.

⁵ O'Lothcain in "Annals Four M."

O'Lochan, chief File and Chronicler of Cian, son of Maolmuadh." This distinguished Ollamh left Rathleann some time after his patron's death, and is said to have been acknowledged as a regent or administrator of the kingdom of Ireland, after the death of Malachy, for two years. "It can hardly be said that his work was cut short, for more than 1,600 lines from his hand have come down to us. He was one of the most famous of a group of famous men belonging to the tenth and eleventh centuries, distinguished in their day as genealogists, chroniclers, and poets, whose voluminous productions have survived to our own time." (*Text Book of Irish Literature*, by Miss Hull, p. 170.)

Under the year 1028 the death of Mahon is entered as follows in the *Leabhar Oiris*:—"Mac Cēin, mic Maolmuadh, Rí na n-aoi b-ċonn, asur Maolpeclann 500, Rí Míre o'ċaċbail ċair, anno Domini 1028." "Mahon, son of Cian, son of Maolmuadh, King of the nine territories, and Maolsechlann The Stammerer, King of Meath, died." The Four Masters give 1038 as the date of Mahon's death, but, for a reason already assigned, the *Leabhar Oiris* should be regarded as a preferable authority on South Munster affairs.

Sabia survived her son three years. The (original) Annals of Innisfallen, year 1831, have the entry: "Sadhb ingen ċríain 10 ecc." "Sadhb (pr. Soyve), daughter of Brian, died." The *Leabhar Oiris*, which gives fuller information than the Annals of Innisfallen about the history of the tenth and eleventh centuries, ends with the death of Mahon.

It was reserved for this Chieftain that his name should be borne as a surname by his posterity, and, eventually (in the course of centuries), by the entire Sept, which included, of course, families descended from his cousins and remote relatives. In his time each member of an Irish tribe had, like an ancient Greek or Hebrew, only one name, and was distinguished from others by mentioning the name of his father and grandfather. People grew impatient of this cumbrous arrangement, and a widespread preference was manifested for an unalterable surname towards the beginning of the twelfth century in Ireland and (a curious coincidence) in the same century in England also. It would be a mistake to assert (what has been often asserted) that the Irish families deliberately selected the name of their principal ancestor to be a surname; it is not improbable that they began to be called after a certain ancestor by their neighbours,⁶ and that they themselves gradually adopted the patronymic thus applied to them. Had Mahon's descendants made a selection, the name chosen would assuredly be that of Cian. Mahon, Catlŋrach (from whom M'Carthy), Donchadh (from whom O'Donoghue)—to give a few out of many possible examples—were not the principal ancestors in their respective lines. And some families supposed to be called after their principal ancestor were in reality called after a descendant and namesake of his.

Mahon's name was also used in his Clan as a praenomen or Christian

⁶ There can be little doubt that in this way originated many English surnames—(1) residential, as John at the Well (Atwell), William at the Wood, Thomas at the Field, Richard at the Townend, etc.; and (2) nicknames turned into surnames, as Hogg, Heavy-side, Coward, Smallman, etc., acquiesced in rather than selected by their unlucky possessors.

name, but, in the Anglicizing period, it was altered to Matthew. Maolmuadh was in more frequent use down to the 17th century, and even since in some Kerry families, altered into Myles. But the prænomen that was in most frequent use was Cian,⁷ fairly well Anglicized into Kean; some degenerate descendants have had the bad taste to change it into "Cain."

Mahon's son and successor was Brodchon. Dr. O'Donovan calls him Brodchu. As the name Brodchon was used as a genitive ("Mac Brodchon") in the genealogical list, he inferred by analogy a nominative Brodchu, but it would seem inaccurately. The word is apparently indeclinable, judging from the language of the entry, which we shall quote presently, from the (Dublin) Annals of Innisfallen. The only record that has come down to us about this Chief relates his participation in one of those deplorable inter-tribal feuds that had become more frequent than ever during the century and a half subsequent to the Battle of Clontarf. The entry referred to is:—"A.D. 1072. *Stuaḡ le Brodchon mac Maḡ-ḡaḡna, mac Céin, mac Maolmuairḡ, míc ḡroin, aḡḡna ḡéirḡḡ, &c., &c.*" "A hosting by Brodchon, son of Mahon, son of Cian, son of Maolmuadh, son of Bron, into the Decies, from which he carried off much booty to recover which there was a pursuit by the people of Magh Feine, and an engagement followed, in which Mudan O'Driscoll, Chief of Corcalee, was slain, and many others on both sides." There was an old feud between South Munster and the Decies, and in Cian's time, as was shown in a previous page, from the *Leabhar Oiris*, the people of the Decies were the aggressors. As Brodchon was the leader of this expedition and other Chiefs followed his standard, he is thus shown to have kept up the leading position held by his father and his grandfather Cian, in Desmond. From the series of ancestors who are attached to his name in the above entry, it is evident that surnames had not yet come into use in his Clan, 1072. The statement made in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, that he was the first called "O'Mahon," is inaccurate; such an appellation in his time would mean grandson of Mahon.

The year 1088 was a memorable one in the records of the Ui Eachach Mumhan. In that year the Sept performed its most notable military exploit, the defeat of a formidable combination of the Norsemen organised to plunder Cork. That city had enjoyed a respite from such attacks ever since A.D. 1012, when Cian's Clan came to its rescue—too late to prevent the burning, but in time to retaliate severely on the invaders. The burning of Cork in 1087, not being attributed by the Annalists to an invading force, must be regarded as accidental; fires of accidental origin must have been of very frequent occurrence in ancient and mediæval times, when towns were (like London at the period of the Restoration), "built for the most part of wood and plaster." (Macaulay, *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. i., c. 3.)

"In the year 1088," say the Four Masters, "a great slaughter was made by the Ui Eachach Mumhan, of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, Loch Garman and Portláirge (Dublin, Wexford and Waterford) in the day that

⁷ The families who retained this Christian name, when it had been dropped by others, were known as "Kean Mahonys," or "Mahony Keans," and, eventually, many of these became known as Keane, the original name being quite forgotten, as McDonogh McCarthys became McDonoghs and Dennehy's, and the descendants of a Brian McSwiney, Brians and O'Brians.

they jointly attempted to plunder Corcach Mumhan (Cork)."⁸ The fame of this exploit spread throughout Ireland, and the *Annals of Ulster* mention it in terms almost identical with those that have been just quoted. The victory was a crushing one and verified the ancient battle-cry of the Sept,⁹ "Lasair Romhainn a Buadh." Had the foreigners succeeded, they would, most probably, have converted Cork into a well-fortified stronghold like Dublin, and continued to make predatory incursions into the surrounding country.¹⁰ All Desmond, and not Cork alone, was deeply interested in the result of the combat, which one tribe had the courage and the power to undertake:—

"Una domus vires et onus susceperat Urbis,
Sumunt gentiles arma professa manus."¹¹

It is improbable that the battle was fought in the vicinity of Cork. The Clan was able on this occasion to prevent the intended plundering, and not merely to retaliate on the plunderers after the injury was done, as in 1012. Now, it would not be possible to receive notice of the movements of the Danish ships, to muster a sufficient number of clansmen in the vicinity of the Chief's residence, and to reach Corcach, fifteen miles distant, before the Danes could have sailed up from the mouth of the harbour. It is more likely that it was in the heart of their tribeland that they intercepted the Danish forces, who may have followed the same course as their predecessors in the ninth century, when they¹² "ravaged Carbery and Muskerry, and a third went towards Corcach." They probably entered Kinsale Harbour and sailed up to Innishannon, intending to march through Kinelmeky and the valley of Muskerry on to Corcach, to which they would have sent round their ships. Certain it is that in the earlier part of the nineteenth century the tradition prevailed that a battle was fought between the Irish and the Danes at Castle na Leachta (Castle Lac) in Kinelmeky. In the field near the ruins of the old castle there are four pillar stones, whose number and traditional name (Leachta) indicate that the plain on which they stand was a battle-field. They are of considerable size, one being twelve feet high, another nine, and another six. They are of clay slate, a material not to be found in that red sandstone district, and must have been brought with much labour from a considerable distance to commemorate an event evidently deemed of no ordinary importance.¹³

⁸ Sir James Ware had followed some other ancient record, which gave 1089 as the date of this battle:—"Ostmanni Dublinii, Wickloae et Waterfordiae, dum conjunctis viribus Corcagiam diripere intenderent, ab Oneaghensibus in praelio fusi et profligati sunt." Jacobi Waraei, Equitis Aurati, Liber De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus. Lord. 1658, 2nd Ed. Ware's "Oneaghenses" has been ridiculously translated "the Oneachys" by a writer in an old number of this "Journal."

⁹ See the War Cries of the different Irish Septs, afterwards the mottoes of families, in a MS. of Theophilus O'Flanagan, in R. I. Academy.

¹⁰ In the next century the Danes came into Cork in the peaceful capacity of traders.

¹¹ Ov. *Fastorum Lib. II.*, 197.

¹² "Wars of the Gael," p. 31. See also p. 7, "and they (the Danes) plundered Dundermuighe and Innis Eoganain," Dunderrow and Innishannon.

¹³ In Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary," published 1835, the writer of the article on Templemartin alludes to the tradition of the battle between the Irish and the Danes, but mis-states it completely in saying that the pillar stones were erected to commemorate the victory by the Danes in 868. Perhaps by a slip of the pen "by" was substituted

In the following year, 1089, according to the (Dublin) *Annals of Innisfallen*, a combat took place between the Uí Eachach and Dermot O'Brien, with the result that "two hundred of Dermot's soldiers were slain." Dermot being at feud with his brother, Murchertach, King of Munster, whose Leinster enemies he openly joined in 1087, and being expelled from Thomond, may have sought to make a settlement for himself in Brodchón's tribe-land.

Brodchón, if alive in those years, would have been too old to take an active part in those two combats, and the office of leader would devolve on his son and successor, Cumara, who ruled the Clan from Brodchón's death to the beginning of the twelfth century. The claim to the sovereignty of Munster, which Cian had put forward after the Battle of Clontarf, was not renewed by the Chiefs who succeeded him. They acquiesced in the supremacy of the House of Brian, and consoled themselves with their privilege of exemption from tribute, recognised in the *Book of Rights*.¹⁴ So wrote the Tribal Bard in some archaic verses, which must be referred to this period, and are preserved in MS. 23, G. 22, p. 49, and other MSS. (R. I. Academy):—

"Τῆματ' ἀπὶ ἰβὲ τὰντ' μὰ τὰ ἀνν, ἀντ' ἰά το ἐόγῃς ἀπὶ ἄ ἐιον
 ní ḃfúil áct rín oréa ann bárrí ó ḃroin dá ḡcromá á ἐιον."

"Though a Chief of the Ibh Tail (O'Briens) be in it (i.e., the sovereignty of Munster), the day that the offspring of Bron (i.e. an O'Mahon) goes to meet him, he has nothing to do but to salute by an inclination of the head."

The entry of Cumara's death is placed under the year 1091 in the (original) *Annals of Innisfallen*:—*Mac Broccón, hua Maetgáimna do mairbádo, &c., &c.* "O'Mahon, the son of Brodchón, was killed¹⁵ treacherously by the son of Maolmuaidh,¹⁶ the son of Matudain." The above year corresponds with the year 1107; owing to the defective chronology¹⁷ adopted by the Innisfallen Annalists in the tenth and eleventh centuries, all events are ante-dated by sixteen years. "*ua Maetgáimna*" is used in this entry as a true surname; if the Annalist meant "grandson of Mahon," he would have used the accustomed formula, "*mac mic Maetgáimna*," or *mac Broccón mic Maetgáimna*."

In the same Annals the death of his successor, Donogh Donn, who in

for "over." The erection of pillar stones was an Irish, not a Danish, custom. Moreover, the Danes in their sudden forays for plunder would not remain in a hostile territory long enough to transport such huge masses of stone from a great distance. Tradition would not fix the date 868, which must be that writer's conjectural addition. His own theory of the Druidical origin of the stones is futile, and opposed to the still existing traditional name, Leachta, "sepulchral monuments."

¹⁴ See quotation from the *Leabhar na gceart* in p. 27. (Jan.-March No. of this "Journal," 1907.)

¹⁵ *Τῆματ' ἀπογῆ* is curiously rendered by Dr. O'Connor (*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*), "prae timore." The phrase occurs a few times in the "*Annals Four M*," where O'Donovan translates it, "by an unfair advantage."

¹⁶ Not identified. The name, and its variety Madadlian, was a usual one in the North and in Connacht; there is also an instance of it among the Dalcassians. ("*Annals F. M.*," 1088).

¹⁷ See Dr. Todd's "*Wars of the Gael*," p. 240, note. Dr. O'Connor (*Rerum Hibern. Script. Vet.*) has the following note at A.D. 1022:—"Hi Annales Aeram Communem praecedunt annis 17." This refers to one particular entry; sixteen would represent the more usual discrepancy. The defects of their chronological system do not impair the credit of those Annals.

all probability was engaged, as being the $\mu\sigma\theta\alpha\mu\eta\alpha$, in the two combats above mentioned, is recorded in the year 1102, recte 1118:— $\mu\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\mu\eta\alpha$ $\nu\omicron$ ecc. He was succeeded by his son, Cian (A.D. 1118-1135), the third of his line who bore that name. In this Chieftain's first year commenced the decline of the Sept's predominance in South Munster. We shall, therefore, take occasion to recapitulate in a few brief sentences what has been proved regarding the position it held in Munster from the sixth to the twelfth century.

The posterity of Eochaidh, son of Cas, son of Corc, King of Munster, were the first to detach themselves from the main stock, and form a separate tribe, which established itself in the present County of Cork, while the other Eoghanachts were domiciled in Tipperary and part of Limerick. (See introductory chapter, p. 192, note.) The other families descended from Corc, through Aengus K.M. (ob. 489), were designated by the name of "Ui Aenghusa of the South," and under that name constituted one composite tribe in A.D. 862 (*Annals F.M.*). In it were the families that afterwards acquired the names of O'Sullivan (now known to be the senior of those families¹⁸), MacCarthy, &c., &c. The sovereignty of Munster down to the time of Brian and his brother Mahon continued to be the privilege of Corc's descendants, but not of any one family¹⁹ among them; it was elective, not hereditary, and rarely was any King of Munster (immediately) succeeded by his son. Amongst those Kings of Munster were three of the Ui Eachach (one being of the Cinel Laeghere), and evidence has been given that the Chiefs of the Clan were lords of Desmond as far back as A.D. 845, and no ancestor of any other tribe can be shown to have been described by that title before A.D. 1118.

The families above mentioned as having been included under the name of the "Ui Aenghusa of the South" were for a half-century before, and about a half-century after, the date of the Battle of Clontarf, in a state of obscurity; they are not mentioned at all in the Annals of that period. But in the twelfth century one of them obtained a prominence that lasted for over four hundred years. Carthach, the ancestor of the M'Carthy's (ob. 1045, *Annals F.M.*), and his two successors, Donogh and Muirtheadhach (1092), lived and died Chiefs of Eoghanacht Cashel, which coincided with the Barony of Iffa and Offa²⁰ in Co. Tipperary. Such also was the designation of Tadhg, son of Carthach, until 1118. In that year Tadhg

¹⁸ So O'Donovan and Duall MacFirbis have proved.

¹⁹ From the foregoing pages it will be seen that Mr. Gibson, in chap. 1 of his "History of Cork," commenced with a sweeping mis-statement. Summarizing the history of Munster before Brian Boru's time, he says: "Munster had been from an early period, possessed by the Mac Carthys of Cork, and the Dalcassians, or O'Briens, of Limerick. The King of the whole of Munster was chosen alternately from these two great families." The facts are:—(1) That of the first mentioned of those Septs (if we exclude Corc and other Kings common to many tribes) there were only three Kings of Munster before Brian's time, namely, Failbe Flann, Colgu, and Ceallachan Cashel. See "Wars of the Gael," p. 240, and note in Chron. Scotorum, as to Donogh, son of Ceallachan Cashel. (2) That of the Dalcassian or O'Brien race there were most probably none at all. (Dr. Todd, and see also p. 80, April-June, 1907, No. of this "Journal.")

²⁰ O'Donovan's notes on O'Heerin. O'Donoghues, a different tribe from those of the Ui Eachach, are often mentioned in the Annals as Chiefs of this district in the earlier part of the eleventh century. But they appear to have died out.

united with the "people of Desmond," or at least some section of them, in an attack on Brian, son of Murchad O'Brian, who was killed in the combat. Influenced by this evidence of Tadhg's hostility to the O'Briens, Turlough O'Connor, King of Connacht, their arch-enemy, when he had successfully invaded Munster, that same year, divided it into two independent provinces, raising Tadhg to the position of King of Desmond. Tadhg, however, appears to have never come to live in the South, but ended his days in Eoghanacht Cashel (*Annals F.M.*, 1124). Turlough O'Connor restored Tadhg's race when "expelled from Desmond in 1139," and in 1151 Dermot (King of Desmond at the time of the Norman Invasion) "assumed the sovereignty of Desmond, by the help of the Connacht men." (*Annals F.M.*, the latter clause accidentally omitted in O'Donovan's translation.)

But the Chiefs of South Munster did not acquiesce without a struggle in O'Connor's arrangement. Cormac, the successor of Tadhg, was expelled by the Ui Eachach in 1126. So says the (Bodleian) *Annals of Innisfallen* under the year 1110 (recte 1126):—"Cormac, grandson of Carthach, was expelled by the Ui Eachach of his own province" (ḡo n-ib Eacac ꝥen). The generic name implies that the Annalist²¹ includes both branches so called, and in 1127 "O'Mahon" and O'Donoghue" are expressly named by the (Dublin) *Innisfallen Annals* as combining with three other Chiefs against Donogh McCarthy, who was also expelled. The above entry in the (Bodleian) *Annals* about the combination against Cormac McCarthy cannot be reconciled with that in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, which ascribes Cormac's dethronement to O'Connor. But in Munster affairs the authority of the original *Innisfallen Annalist* should not be set aside; it is, moreover, confirmed to a certain extent by an entry in the *Annales Hibernici*, quoted by Ware in his notes on the Charter²² alleged to have been given by Dermot McCarthy to a Church in Cork. It is quoted in English characters as follows:—"Cormac mac Muriagh mic Carthaigh do aithsiocean do matuib agus a dul go Liosmor an olithre." The correct reading would be (as required by the context) do aithrioghadh do maithib—Cormac was dethroned by nobles (Chiefs) and went to Lismore, &c. The Chiefs are not named, but the Annalist would surely mention the King of Connacht, if he took part in the action.

The time of Cian's chieftainship was certainly a disturbed one. He took part with "the Chieftains of Munster and Thomond" in some expedition, against whom we are not precisely informed, but a battle took place at Clonenagh, near Mountrath, where, according to the (Dublin) *Annals of Innisfallen*, A.D. 1135, "Cian, son of Donogh Donn, son of Cumara, son of Brodchón, O'Mahon, King of Ui Eachach, was killed." ²³

²¹ He mentions that the O'Donoghue Chief, "Cahal of the red hand, grandson of Donal, King of the Ui Eachach (i.e., his own portion thereof), was killed on that occasion. Plainly, this Annalist had a good opportunity of hearing all about Cormac's expulsion.

²² In a special article at a future date, the present writer intends to prove that the Charter is a forgery, concocted two centuries after Dermot's time.

²³ A strange mistake was made in the "Annals of the Four Masters" in giving to a chief of a different tribe and territory who died in this Cian's time, in 1121, Maolsechlann Ua Callachain, the name of "Chief of the Eachach Mumhan." O'Donovan, who had omitted to comment on this in his Ed. of the Annals, supplied the omission in the notes that he wrote for the genealogical chapters in "Cambrensis Eversus" (Dr. Kelly's Edition). "This," he writes, "is a mere blunder, the Ui Eachach Mumhan were the

The immediate successor of Cian (the third) was not his son, who must have been under age in 1135, as his death is recorded in 1212. By the Tanist law his brother, or other near relative, became head of the Sept. The Christian name of this successor has not been preserved, but in the *Annals*, under the year 1137, we find that "Cormac M'Carthy, O'Mahon, O'Donoghue and other chiefs went to Portlairge to oppose Turlough O'Brien." Cian's son, however, afterwards succeeded to the Chieftainship, for in the same *Annals* is the entry:—"A.D. 1171. Donogh O'Mahon over the Ui Eachach; Donal O'Donoghue over the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein." In subsequent entries, and in the genealogical table, Donogh is described as the son of Cian. We are now arrived at the period of the Norman Invasion.

Donogh, son of Cian the third of that name, succeeded to the chieftainship on the death of his uncle, who fell in the victorious attack made on the English garrison of Waterford by the Irish of South Munster²⁴ at the close of the year 1170. It was the custom of clansmen to attach to the name of the Chief a *leapáinn*, or sobriquet, suggested by some personal peculiarity or circumstance connected with his place of birth or fosterage. Donogh's only salient peculiarity was a habit of going the round of his forts and living for some time in each, instead of residing permanently or principally at Rath Rathleann. Hence the appellation of Donchadh, "Na Himerce (Himerke) Timchill," or, more briefly, "Na Himerce,"²⁵ Donogh "of the changes of residence," as he is generally called in the *Annals* and *Genealogies*. As may be seen by referring back to *Genealogical Tables* Nos. I. and II., he is the stem to which the genealogists trace not only the two principal septs of the name (those of Kinelmeky and Ivagha), but all the minor septs or families. He held a memorable position also in the tribal history as having been the last chieftain who succeeded to the entire territory²⁶ of his ancestors. That territory was of a straggling, inconvenient conformation, most difficult to defend at a time when sudden incursions were the rule rather than the exception in Irish warfare, and when a standing force was not usually maintained. Before the "hosts from Carn Ui Neid" could arrive or even be summoned from the west, a muster of clansmen in the eastern parts might be hopelessly outnumbered and cut to pieces by an invader. Under this disadvantage, an almost perpetual struggle had to be kept up against the encroachments of the

O'Mahonys and O'Donoghues." It was simply an error such as often occurs when a writer happens to fix his eye on a word in the previous line and unconsciously reproduces it. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," in the line before the above entry, the name Eachach, referring to those of the North, occurred twice. The accidental error of the Four M. is kept up in the Catalogue of the R.I.A. in describing the shrine of S. Lachtén, ordered to be made by the Chief referred to.

²⁴ "Annals of Inisfallen" (Dublin copy), under the year 1170.

²⁵ In the genealogical notes (chiefly derived from Sir William Betham) appended to the "Life of the last Colonel of the Irish Brigade," the name is curiously mistranslated, "Donogh of the pilgrimages." Imerce never meant a pilgrimage; it means "a shifting of the household goods and furniture from one holding to another, a departure, a migration." (Dinneen's Irish-English Dictionary, s.v.)

²⁶ The Ostmen or Danes of Cork certainly possessed, at the time of the Norman Invasion, a cantred near Cork, as appears from the Charter of Henry II. to Fitzstephen and De Cogan. This may have been part of Kerricurrihy, which, however, was not an original part of the tribeland of the Ui Eachach, though, as has been proved, it formed part of it in the time of Mahon.

English invaders and of Irish neighbours on the integrity of the trieland during the chieftainship of Donogh na Himerce.

Dermod MacCarthy, King of Desmond, called by the English, King of Cork, was the first Irish prince to do homage to Henry when he came in person. It is very probable that his motive was to secure, by means of an apparently powerful and trustworthy suzerain, his own precarious position, which (as was shown in the foregoing pages) was derived from the support of the King of Connacht, and not from the consent or through the conquest of the other chiefs of Cork and Kerry. Neither he²⁷ nor any of the others who formally submitted to Henry, observes Mr. Haverty, "understood Norman rapacity, or could have imagined that in paying homage to Henry as liege lord, they were conveying to him the absolute ownership of their territories." Absorbed in their own local feuds, they had not followed the course of events in England since the Conquest, or they would have been warned by the fate of the Anglo-Saxons,²⁸ every rood of whose lands was confiscated, and they themselves reduced to abject serfdom. Those Irish chiefs soon found Norman rule to be what, according to Mr. Lecky, it continued for centuries to be, "too weak to introduce order and obedience, yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius amongst the natives; . . . like a spear-point embedded in a living body, it inflamed all around it and deranged even vital functions." "It prevented," says Hallam, "the rise, in the course of time, of an Egbert or Harold to consolidate the provincial kingdoms into one hereditary monarchy." The faithlessness of the Norman was also made evident by the Charter given in 1177 to the two adventurers, Fitzstephen and De Cogan, a sweeping confiscation, or attempted confiscation, of the rights of chiefs and clansmen, who, if the attempt could be carried out, would henceforward exist on sufferance in their own land. The adventurers were owners of the whole county as far as a piece of parchment could make them owners, and their representatives in after times often described themselves, or were described in Inquisitions and by some recent writers, as "owners" of places they never were able to seize; thus Barry Oge was often described as the "owner" of Kinelmeiky and Ibh Flan Lua (Muskerry). Of the thirty-one cantreds of the "Kingdom of Cork" (O'Donovan says "there was no such Kingdom"), they were only able to appropriate "seven contiguous to the city," says Giraldus, "agree-

²⁷ Mr. Gibson, repeating a statement for which Smith quotes no authority, says that "the Ostmen held Cork and the adjacent country in 1172," and that consequently Mac Carthy "cannot have delivered up the city, which was in the possession of another." The Ostmen lived in a portion of the city, but if Cork was theirs, it would have had a Danish Bishop, acknowledging the jurisdiction of Canterbury, like Dublin and Limerick, where they had complete control. Mr. Gibson was not a critical writer on this period of Irish history, and filled many pages with mere fiction taken from the "Book of Howth," "written," says Dr. O'Donovan, "by some Anglo-Irish romancer."

²⁸ The Anglo-Saxons make a poor figure in history as compared to the Irish. "They bowed to the Norman as they bowed to the Dane," says Mr. Green ("Short History of the English People"). After one battle and an abortive attempt at insurrection, they resigned themselves to the oppression and contempt of their Norman masters. The Irish struggle for independence, under all the disadvantages of almost complete disunion, lasted for five centuries. The Attorney-General of James I., Sir John Davies, had occasion to write a book in 1612, entitled "A discoverie of the causes why Ireland was never brought under obedience to the Crown of England," and he "discovered" that "it is most certain that from Henry II. to 39th year of Elizabeth the English forces were too weak to subdue so many warlike septs."

ing to divide the tribute of the other twenty-four when they should have been brought into subjection." Cox improves on Giraldus by stating that "Dermod Mac Carthy and the others accepted of grants of those cantreds, paying a small yearly chief rent thereout." (Cox's *Regnum Corcagiense*). It is now well known that there were no such "grants" either given or accepted.

Had Donogh Na Himerce gone to make his submission to the English King, his action would have been recorded as was that of the Chief of the Deise, certainly not a more important tribe in South Munster than the Ui Eachach. There is reason for believing that he maintained towards the invaders the same attitude as his predecessor, who died fighting against them at Waterford; he, too, as we shall see, lost his life in the same way, after having undergone a considerable spoliation at their hands. This spoliation commenced in 1179; we are informed that the grantees of Henry's Charter given in 1177 proceeded to seize seven cantreds two years afterwards. De Cogan succeeded in seizing Dundrinane (now Castlemore), in the Muskerry portion of Donogh's territory, and as we learn from Cox (*Regnum Corcagiense*) fixed his residence there. It afterwards passed from him either by grant or by forcible capture to the son of Dermod Mac Carthy. Kinelea, in the east, was invaded and made over subsequently to Robert Fitzmartin,²⁹ from whom it passed to the Barrys. On the west coast, Richard de Carew, Marquis of Cork, who died in 1198, seized on Innisfodda (Long Island) and another ploughland, which he afterwards restored by way of a marriage portion when his daughter married Dermod Mor O'Mahon, the eldest son of Donogh. These seizures were rendered comparatively easy by the disastrous feuds that had arisen, at a most inopportune time, between the Irish tribes. In 1178 there had occurred one of the periodical wars between Thomond and Desmond, with the result, according to the Dublin *Annals of Innisfallen*, that "the country between Cork and Limerick was devastated, and the greater part of the race of Eoghan Mor fled into the woods of Ivagha." The compiler of those *Annals*, as we have often before observed, is not an impartial authority in recounting the exploits of the Dalcassian race; but whatever may have been the result of the war, it must have greatly weakened the Irish and favoured the enterprise of the English adventurers. Under the year 1179 an entry in the same *Annals* records that before that year, or at least before the end of it, Dermod Mac Carthy and O'Donoghue of Loch Lene (Killarney) had attacked and "expelled Donogh Na Himerce O'Mahon, King of the Ui Eachach." It is plain from this entry that

²⁹ Kinelea (see ante, Part I. p. 10) was the old original possession of the Cinel Aedha, the elder branch of the Ui Eachach, the branch afterwards called after Mahon. From the genealogical pages of the "Book of Leinster" it is evident that no other Munster tribe was designated by that name, and that O'Donovan's conjecture on this point is unfounded. There is not the shadow of a proof that it ever passed to the Mac Carthys. Fitzmartin was in possession in 1207, and the Barrys, who obtained it from him, were in occupation in 1240. ("Records of the Barrys," by Rev. Edm. Barry.) Some one of those families was, therefore, the occupier when Tracton Abbey was built in 1224. D'Allemand's (A.D. 1690) conjecture that it was built by the Mac Carthys (followed by Archdall and Smith) was an inference from an unfounded opinion that they were in occupation. One circumstance is quite decisive on this matter. The monks were brought from Alba Landa in Wales, the country of the Fitzmartins and Barrys. There were at that time in Ireland thirteen Cistercian Abbeys, and an Irish founder would have brought the monks from some one of those, at a time when animosity between English and Irish was at its height.

Donogh's power was considerable when Dermot Mac Carthy did not venture to attack him without being reinforced by an auxiliary. It is plain, too, that Dermot's power over Co. Cork tribes was rather nominal than real, as he had to procure the required aid from the O'Donoghues seated in distant Magunihiy, in Kerry. There is decisive evidence that Donogh recovered his position after this defeat, for in the Bodleian *Annals of Innisfallen*, under the year 1206, we read:—"The son of Dermot Mac Carthy³⁰ stirred against Fineen and Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien and O'Mahon and all Desmond." This quotation has to be given from an old English translation of the 17th century in T.C.D. Library, as the Irish text from the Bodleian MS. in Dr. O'Connor's edition is not complete, but ends with the year 1196. The passage is obscurely worded, but one thing appears plain enough, viz., that O'Mahon (Donogh Na Himerce) is mentioned as a power in Desmond. From the same (Bodleian) *Annals*, under the year 1201, we learn that in a war between Thomond and Desmond a portion of Donogh's tribeland, that in the vicinity of the Round Tower of Kinneigh, was terribly devastated. The O'Briens formed an alliance with De Burgo, who, like his confreres, was glad to interfere in Irish quarrels, and Dalcassian and English troops marched, says the Annalist, "into Muskerry Mitine, where they took many spoils, and then they marched to Kinneigh, where they tarried seven days, and they burned much corn in all the places they reached. They also killed Amhlaoibh O'Donovan, King of Hy Cairbre (Aedhbha) and Mac Oisdelb with some of his followers and many others." The Dublin copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen* alters the above by saying that O'Donovan was killed "at Kinneigh," and Dr. O'Donovan improves on this by the inference that O'Donovan was "then for some time seated at Kinneigh." However, in another passage (*Annals F. M.*, vol. 2, p. 934) he holds the opinion that the O'Donovan tribe did not abandon their home in Hy Fidenti, Co. Limerick until the year 1229.³¹

³⁰ In the Dublin copy of the "Annals of Innisfallen," under the same year, Donogh Na Himerce is mentioned with Donogh O'Brien and O'Donoghue as taking part in the "dethronement" of Fineen Mac Carthy (son of Dermot, King of Cork), who was replaced by his nephew and rival, Dermot Mac Carthy, of Dundoighnan. Donogh evidently took advantage of this dissension to obtain for himself immunity from attacks from that quarter.

³¹ In his notes to "Annals Four M.," A.D. 1178, the editor quotes, apparently without dissenting from it, the following passage of Dr. O'Brien (in Vallancey's *Collectanea*):—"In this expedition, the Dalcassians (1173) routed the O'Donovans of Hy Fiquinte or Carbre Aedhbha, in the Co. Limerick, and the O'Collinses of Ive Connall Gabhra, or Lower Connallo, and drove them beyond the mountains of Mangerton to the western parts of the Co. Cork. Here these two exiled Eugenic families, being powerfully assisted by the O'Mahonys, made new settlements for themselves in the ancient properties of the O'Donoghues, the O'Driscolls and O'Learies, to which three families the O'Mahonys were always declared enemies, and who were now driven to the borders of Loch Lene (Killarney), where Auliff Mor O'Donoghue had made some settlement before this epoch." The assistance rendered to the "two exiled Eugenic families" is in accordance with old and constant tradition, but all the subsequent statements are grossly inaccurate. It has been already shown that the whole tribe of O'Donoghue migrated about 1015, and that their lands became part of the "nine territories" of Mahon. A small portion of a tribe could not conquer Magunihiy from the O'Carrolls, and a portion of the tribe left in the Ui Eachach tribeland would be dispossessed by their (then) hostile kinsmen of Mahon's tribe. There were not infrequent intermarriages between the families of the O'Mahon and O'Driscoll Chiefs. Sir Fineen O'Driscoll was the grandson of Connor Fionn O'M. of Ardintennant Castle, Chief of Ivagha. Dr. O'Donovan often alludes to the persistent inaccuracy, in historical matters, of that distinguished Irish scholar, Dr. O'Brien.

This is a dreary narrative of feuds and rapine in the South of Ireland. Chroniclers of most other parts of the country record similar events, but it should be borne in mind that this state of affairs was not peculiar to the Irish tribes. "About this period," says Mr. Haverty (*Hist of Ireland*, chapt. xxi), "the mutual feuds of the English Barons in Ireland were as capricious and sanguinary as any that we have had to lament among the Irish." And if we look to the Continent, Germany was passing through the anarchy of the "Great Interregnum," and Italy was beginning to be torn asunder by the Guelph and the Ghibelline factions, which for two centuries embroiled its numerous petty republics. Rarely has it happened in any country in former times that domestic dissensions were checked by the apprehension that advantage might be taken of them by a foreign enemy. These observations it is necessary to make, as some readers might imagine that there was not, outside of Ireland, any instances of the folly exhibited by Mac Carthy³² and O'Donoghue in attacking O'Mahon in 1179, in the presence of the English enemy, by whom they both lost their lives—the one in that very year, and the other in 1185.

After 1206 we have no record about O'Mahon until 1212, and he may have enjoyed an interval of peace, rare in his troubled career. By incessant struggles he had succeeded in preserving about two-thirds of his septland. But in 1212 the heroic old chieftain, who, born before 1135, must have been in or about his eightieth year, was once more in arms in defence of his rights against the English invaders, and the result is told by the Annalist:—*Donnchad na hImirce Tíméill O Maéghamha do marbhad do gailuib*, "was killed by the foreigners."

Donogh left three sons, Muirchertach, Dermot Mor, and Conchobar. The chieftainship devolved on the eldest son, Muirchertach. His name, preserved in the *Annals*, does not occur in the genealogies, as his line became extinct by a tragic event, which will presently be related. Dermot Mor became the ancestor of the Chiefs of Ivagha, and Conchobar of those of Kinelmeky. The division of the sept may be considered to date from the time of Muirchertach. It was not the result of internal discord in the ruling family of the clan, but arose naturally through force of circumstances. Dermot Mor appears to have had during his father's lifetime, charge of the western portion of the tribeland. A portion—a small portion only—of the tribeland had been seized by Richard de Carew, one of the Norman adventurers who established himself in the West, obtained the title

³² As Dermot Mac Carthy, King of Desmond, was the first Irish Chief who submitted to Henry II., his name has become a byword and a reproach. But it should be remembered that he repented of his course of action, and became a determined enemy of the unprincipled King, in whose view suzerainty implied a right of wholesale confiscation. Mr. D. F. Mac Carthy, in his spirited poem, "The Clan of Mac Caura," places Dermot on a "bad eminence" as the "base Dermot Mac Caura," for whose treason his posterity wept. But who "went for his treason?" Not certainly Mac Carthy Reagh, who in A.D. 1406, when English power was at its lowest ebb, bound himself and successors in an "indenture," still extant, "to pursue and punish" his brother Irishmen who might be "rebels" against English rule, and whose line Cox certifies to have been of untainted loyalty until 1641, when Celtic independence was gone. Not Mac Carthy of Muskerry; Sir Cormac Mac Teig was a paragon of loyalty, and his successor sent a thousand men to oppose O'Neil and O'Donnell at Kinsale. Not Mac Carthy Mor, about whom see the scathing language of Dr. O'Donovan in notes to "Annals of the Four Masters," 1506. Mac Donogh Mac Carthy of Duhallow and Donogh Maol, brother of Florence in Elizabeth's time, would certainly have lamented the "treason of Dermot."

of Marquess of Cork, and built the Castle at Dunnamark.³³ He gave his daughter in marriage³⁴ to Dermod Mor, giving (in reality restoring), by way of a marriage portion, the island of Innisfodda (now Long Island) and a townland, "Calloghe-Chrage, by Schull Haven," which townland the present writer cannot identify. This statement rests on the authority of Sir George Carew, "a born genealogist," as he has been called, who was a descendant of the Marquess, and had, at the end of the 16th century, access to accurate information on the subject. Moreover, in the Irish genealogies (as in MS. 23, H.l.e., R.I. Academy) we find a "Ricard" among the four sons of Dermod Mor—a name sufficiently indicative of a Norman connection. Muirchertach was, no doubt, during his lifetime chief of all the tribeland east and west. But when the time came for Dermod to succeed him, part of the territory between Kinelmeky and Ivagha had been seized by Donal Gott Mac Carthy, and it was felt that it was no longer expedient that two disconnected territories should be under one ruler, and thus by tacit or express agreement Dermod remained as chief in Ivagha, and his brother Conchobar was elected Chief of Kinelmeky.

But to return to the history of Muirchertach. It appears that he was the first of his race designated by the appellation of Cairbreach,³⁵ "of Carbery," derived most probably from his having been "fostered" in Carbery, a part of his territory. There are several instances of names being given to Chiefs for a similar reason. When the genealogists of Louis XIV. recognised the origin of one of the exiled chiefs as commencing with "O'Mahoni de Carbrie, 1220," they must, according to their custom, have exacted the production of some historical document (now lost) referring to a chieftain who flourished at that date.

For twenty years the last chieftain of the undivided septland appears to have been left undisturbed by his Norman and Irish neighbours, but in 1232 a great disaster befell him from an unprovoked and treacherous attack, for which he was unprepared. This attack is described, with strong censure, by the (Bodleian) Innisfallen Annalist:—"A.D. 1232. Domhnall Gott Mac Carthaigh was taken prisoner by his own brother, Cormac Mac Carthaigh, but he was set at liberty by him at the end of a quarter, and immediately after this Domhnall went, at the instance of Maghnus O'Cobhthaigh and Fineen O'Muircheartach (O'Moriarty) to commit an unneighbourly act against Muirchertach O'Mathghamhna (O'Mahony), a thing which he did, for he slew the three sons of O'Mathghamhna, and plundered himself, and, in consequence of this, Domhnall Cairbreach and his race remained in the South from that forth."³⁶

³³ Dunnamark did not mean "the Marquess's Castle," as the author of the "Pacata Hibernia" thought. Dun na mbairc, the fort of the ships (a name formed like Inbher na mbairc, Bantry Bay) was a name of much more ancient date than Carew's Castle.

³⁴ There is evidence that his great-grandson, another Dermod Mor, married a daughter of another Marquess Carew, who, when a widow, married Donal Caomh Mac Carthy Reagh.

³⁵ Mr. McCarthy Glas gives a list of the historical documents, some extant and some lost, which were furnished to the French Heralds for the *Genealogie de Mac Carthy*."

³⁶ The Dublin "Annals," under date of 1233, have:—"Domhnall Gott Cairbreach came to depose O'Mathghamhna and Cobhthaigh to Coill-t-Sealbhaigh, where he fought a battle, and slew the three sons of O'Mathghamhna, i.e., the three sons of Donnchadh na h-imirce timchill." The authority of this modern compilation cannot be set against that of the ancient contemporary Annalist above quoted. It is clearly a blunder to give

The above translation is by Dr. O'Donovan, who gives also the original, in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, 1849, p. 142. But "Fineen O'Moriarty" is substituted for "the daughter of Moriarty" on the authority of the old English translation (T.C.D. Library) of the *Annals* by Duaid Mac Firbis, in whose Irish text was *pingin*, which in O'Donovan's copy became *ingin* (a daughter), owing to the initial letter having become faint or obliterated. The old translation appears also to have brought out more clearly the force of the last sentence of the original:—"And therefore he (Donal Cott) is called Donal Cairbreagh, and his posterity also, for he enjoyed the South ever since." In the account of the origin of McCarthy Reagh's power in Carbery given by Mr. MacCarthy Glas, with copious quotations from *Annals* and other sources, the above record is omitted.

The bereaved chieftain died within the following eight years, for he must, of course, be the O'Mahony of Carbery referred to in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under the year 1240:—"The Monastery of Timoleague was founded for Franciscan Friars by Mac Carthy Reagh, Lord of Carbery, and his own tomb was erected in the choir of the Friars. In this Monastery also Barrymore, O'Mahony of Carbery, and the Baron Courcy are interred." This entry must be said to refer to a new *Church* built by Mac Carthy Reagh on the site of the old Church of St. Molaga, for the adjoining *Monastery* was, beyond doubt, founded by Lord William Barry, as is clearly proved from the *Book of Timoleague in Records of the Barrys*, by Rev. Edmond Barry.³⁷ The tomb had doubtless existed in the old Church of St. Molaga, whose name, and not the circumstance of a new church, recommended it as a place of interment.

We shall now proceed with the history of the Kinelmeky Sept, as the Western Clan of Ivagha was an offshoot, though its chiefs were an elder branch of their family.

a different date, to describe O'Coffey as an ally instead of an enemy, and to imply that Donnchadh na Himerce, who died in 1212, was alive in 1233. The passage is here given as quoted by O'Donovan in his "Genealogy of Corcalaidhe." In other MSS. of the "Dublin Annals," the last clause is omitted.

³⁷ Ex Libro Fratrum Minorum de Timolagge:—"Obiit Margeria De Courcey, uxor D. Wilhelmi Barry, primi fundatoris hujus Conventus, 1373." This date of course is not the date of the foundation, which may have been some forty or fifty years earlier (Harleian MSS., British Museum, and Ware's Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, now classed "Rawlinson, 470"). Wadding, who wrote in Italy, had not an opportunity of seeing this record. On this subject letters appeared in a local journal last year; neither of the writers seemed to be aware that the question was definitely settled in the "Records of the Barrys," and previously in Brennan's "Eccl. Hist. of Ireland."

[Addenda et Corrigenenda.—One of the earliest references to the Ui Eachach Sept (afterwards called after Mahon) and to their fort, Rath Rathleann, is that of Maelmuire of Fahan in Donegal, "a poet and erudite historian," according to the Four Masters in recording his death in A.D. 884:—

"Eochu Rathline cean oimongao
Cáin cúlao,
Eoghanacht céé ou i tat
lá bhuíu muman."

TRANSLATION.

"The Clan Eochy of Rathleann is without opposition
Magnificent their apparel,
Eoghanacht, wherever they are found
In the land of Munster."

From an imperfect quotation of the above in Cronnelly, the present writer thought

it referred to the *Ui Eachach of Uladh*, and therefore omitted it. An inspection of the original in Dr. Todd's "*Nennius*," p. 254, shows clearly that the bard meant the *Ui Eachach of Munster*.

The "*Munster Annals*" often quoted by Sir James Ware, and supposed to be lost, have been recently identified by the present writer in an Irish MS. in the R.I.A., misdescribed as one of the "*copies of the Innisfallen Annals*." In it the agreement between Brian and Cian after the battle of *Bealach Leachta* is given as follows:—Peace was made between Brian and Cian, and Brian's daughter was given in marriage to Cian, and the tributes of the race of *Eogan Mor* and his own share of Munster from *Carn Thierna* to *Carn Ui Neid*, and from *Sliabh Caoin* to the sea (in the South), and the keeping of *Cashel* and *Loch Gur* and the island of *Loch Saighlin* and other fortresses in Munster." The compilers of the so-called *Dublin Annals of Innisfallen*, who draw largely on these *Annals*, omit all the words after "*Eoghan Mor*," and substitute a supposition of their own. See *supra* p. 53, note.

It seems probable on reconsideration that the separation of the *Septs of Kinelmeky and Ivagha* did not take place until after 1259, and thus *Dermod Mor* may have been for some years chief of the entire *Septland east and west*.]

PART IV.

KINELMEKY.

After the voluntary division of the Sept in the middle of the thirteenth century, distinctive appellations became necessary for the separated territories and for their chieftains. "It is curious," says Dr. O'Donovan, "to remark the whim of custom in applying names to territories. The country of the Western O'Mahony retained the tribe name of the whole Sept (Ivagha, Ui Eachach), while that of the Eastern O'Mahony received that of Cinelmebece (Kinelmeky) from Bec or Bece, an ancestor less remote than Eocaidh." (Notes supplied by Dr. O'D. to Prof. Kelly, Ed. of *Cambrensis Eversus*). The chieftain of the Eastern Sept, though sometimes called *Uígearna Cineálmbéce*, Lord of Kinelmeky, was generally designated *O Maṭṣaíṇna Cáirbreac* in the Annals and Genealogical MSS., "O'Mahon or O'Mahony of Carbery," in the English State papers. This recognised appellation preserved the memory of the ancient predominance of his ancestor in Carbery. His western kinsman, of the elder branch of the family, is known in the Annals and other Irish documents as *O Maṭṣaíṇna an Fúin Iarṣaraig* or *Aniarṣair*, i.e., "of the Western Land," and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as O'Mahon Fionn, i.e., the Fairhaired, from an ancestor that succeeded in A.D. 1513. Whoever prepared the Index of O'Donovan's Ed. of the Four Masters has created some confusion by bestowing the territorial designation, "of Carbery," on both chieftains indifferently. Cox, in his *Regnum Corcagiense*, discriminates them and their tribe lands by correct appellations: "The best branch was that of O'Mahown Fionn (Fune) alias 'Ownyerer,' or of the West, as he resided in West Carbery, where he had twelve castles, the principal whereof were Ardintenant and Three Castle Head. The other branch was called O'Mahown Carbry, and his seat was at Castle Mahon, which was then part of Carbry." The name Kinelmeky replaced the older tribal name Kinelea as regards the northern and western portions of the territory. Kinelea itself had replaced two older appellations, Musgry Mitine, which anciently was applied to the eastern and north-eastern portion,¹ in which was the chief's residence, Rath Rathleann, and Carbery, which was the name of the southern portion of the district, in which was built Castle Mahon, now called Castle Bernard. Dr. O'Brien, in his Irish Dictionary (sub voce Carbery), says that "Carbery was anciently a portion of Corcalaidhe (Corcalee), and extended from Bandon to the Mizen Head in the west." But it has been shown in the introductory portion of this history that Irish writers distinguished not only Corcalee but Ivagha from Carbery. With that correction, Dr. O'Brien's definition of Carbery may be accepted. His view that it was originally part of Corcalee is confirmed by some place names; for instance, Ballymodan (Bandon), pronounced by Irish speakers Ballymudain, is called after the Corcalee family of Mudan.

¹ The Rath lay to the east of Kilbrennan Abbey, which, according to old records seen by Colgan and Usner, was in Musgry Mitine. This may also be inferred from the Irish Life of St. Finbar.

We have already adopted the opinion of the old Irish antiquaries that the name Carbery came from Cairbre Riada in the third century, but it is quite possible that it may have come from the Corcalee tribe, Ui Carbre, who gave a name to Rosscarbery; or it may have come from Cairbre, one of the chiefs of the Ui Eachach, of the Cinel Laeghere branch, who flourished A.D. 580. We have proved that the modern conjecture deriving this very ancient name from the Carbre Aedha or O'Donovans is utterly untenable, and that the extension of the name to the four baronies was an English, not an Irish usage. (Supra, vol. xii., No. 72, p. 183).²

Donal Gott Mac Carthy, ancestor of Mac Carthy Reagh, after his unprovoked attack on the Sept in 1232, henceforward, says the Innisfallen Annalist, assumed the name "Cairbreach," and commenced to "live in the South"—that is to say, in that part of the original Kinelmeky which lay about Kilbrittain, which De Courcy had probably occupied before A.D. 1200, and sought to secure by building Kilbrittain Castle, of which Donal, or his son Fineen, deprived him. The district occupied included, besides Kilbrittain, Rathclarin, Burren, Rathdroutha, Dowagh, which were parts of the Deanery Kinelea Ultra with which Kinelmeky was originally identical. After that time there was no further encroachment on Kinelmeky by any MacCarthy Reagh, though the district *west of Kinelmeky*—that is to say, from Enniskean to the confines of Ivagha—was seized some time between 1260 and 1300.

After Donal Gott's raid of 1232, peace prevailed between his sept and that of the O'Mahons until 1259, when hostilities were renewed by Donal's son and successor, Fineen of Ringrone. An unfortunate incident furnished him with a pretext. Crom O'Donovan, chief of his name, in coming from or going to his own tribeland in West Cork, happened to pass by Innisbheil, now Phale, west of Ballineen, and there, becoming involved in a squabble with the O'Mahon's herdsmen, he was slain by them. (Dublin *Annals of Innisfallen*, under year A.D. 1254). Though the death of O'Donovan is not attributed by this record to the Chief of Kinelmeky (or any of the principal members of his clan), Fineen of Ringrone,³ ever eager for a fray, took the opportunity of attacking him, possibly at the request of O'Donovan's successor. The Bodleian Annalist of Innisfallen records that in the skirmish that ensued "Macraith O'Mahon and several other nobles (maite) were killed." Macraith was the eldest son of Dermot, who, as we have said, was the first chief of the western Sept. The (Dublin) Annalist says that Dermot himself was slain, and that this event occurred in 1254. But it is not credible that the original Annalist would fail to record the death of a chief, while recording the death of his son. We prefer, as in previous pages, to follow both as to the facts and the date, the contemporary Annalist rather than the compiler of A.D. 1765.

As Innisbheil or Phale is at a considerable distance beyond the boundary

² To what is there said it may be added that Dr. O'Donovan adopted the opinion (vol. ii. Four Masters, p. 934) that "The O'Donovans were finally expelled from Hy Fidhgente in Co. Limerick in 1229." O'Mahon had the name Carbreach in 1220, and Donal Gott assumed it in 1232.

³ Mr. Mac Carthy (Glas), in his "Mac Carthys of Glennachroim," says that Fineen was influenced by the circumstance that Crom was his foster brother. This is a baseless conjecture. Dr. O'Donovan, who put together every ancient reference to Crom, says nothing about this; neither does any Annalist.

of Kinelmeky, it is probable that the district extending on to the west from Phale to Drimoleague had not ceased to belong to the Kinelmeky Sept before the conflict above mentioned, nor perhaps for some time after. The statement that Gleannchroim,⁴ which nearly coincided with the parish of Fanlobbus, was before this time in the possession of Crom O'Donovan, rests on no authority but the unsupported assertion of John Collins, of Myross, in his *Pedigree of the O'Donovans*, a compilation abounding in errors, and completely discarded by Dr. O'Donovan in his account of that clan even in the more recent period of the 16th century. This particular assertion of Collins⁵ is discredited by his representing Crom O'Donovan as living in A.D. 1120, and possessing Gleannchroim before his tribe removed from the Co. Limerick. Dr. O'Brien's account (see ante, p. 78) is that the tribe passed over Mangerton and entered West Cork, and obtained land from the tribes there by "the powerful assistance of the O'Mahonys," who certainly would not help them to obtain Gleannchroim, which was their own,⁶ being between the traditional boundaries "Cork and the Mizen Head." Collins was influenced by a mistaken derivation of the place-name Gleann Chroim. But, as Dr. Joyce observes, "the name Crom (genitive Chruim and Chroim) enters into the composition of numerous words." It would be strange if it did not, as Crom (Cruach) was the chief idol of Pagan Ireland. Thus we find Domnach Chroim, the name of a Sunday in summer coinciding with a Pagan festival, and Cluain Chruim in Westmeath, "the mead of Crom," &c., &c. Crom as an adjective also helps to form compounds, as Cruingleann, a winding glen (Dinneen's Irish Dict.), from which word most probably Gleann chroim originated, the place of the adjective being reversed, as happened in the progress of the language in numerous instances as Dubh-abhainn and Abhain-dubh, Dubh gaill and Gaill-dubh, Ma'an Innis and Innis Ma'an.

East Muskerry ceased to belong to the Chief of Raithleann, descendant of Mahon, when De Cogan in about 1177 succeeded in seizing Dun Draighneain, the site of Castlemore, but West Muskerry, or a district of it comprising the parishes of Kilmichael, Kilmurry, and part of Moviddy, and containing sixty-three ploughlands, was retained for more than another century. The proof of this statement is that there were three divisions of the district, Clan Fineen, Clan Cnogher, and Ui Flon Lua, the two former being called after the grandsons of Dermot Mor and his brother, and the third allocated to the great-grandson of the former. From the genealogical list, it is plain that these allocations must have been made after A.D. 1300, and they could not be made then, if the district had passed out of the possession of the Chief of Kinelmeky.

⁴ The name Gleannchroim does not occur in any Irish MS. We have adopted the spelling given by Florence Mac Carthy Reagh in his letters. The name Cluaincruim is erroneously translated by Dr. Joyce.

⁵ Collins lacked "the historic sense," and was more at home in poetry. His splendid poem on Timoleague Abbey made an impression on Clarence Mangan and Sir S. Ferguson, both of whom gave an English translation of it.

⁶ Windele has the following statement, which is a traditional account, not in any of the hitherto known records, and not free from anachronisms, but which may have some foundation in fact:—"An O'Mahony (whom he calls Cian) endowed his daughter, the wife of O'Coghlan, with one hundred ploughlands in Fanlobbus; O'Coghlan gave these ploughlands (recte thirty-two) to Diarmuid O'Crowley, whose three sons were O'Crowley Buidhe, O'Crowley Bacach, and O'Crowley Reagh." Windele MSS., R. I. Acad.

East Muskerry, on the death of De Cogan in 1182, passed into the possession of what was afterwards known as the Blarney branch of the Mac Carthys, but they were unable to annex the West Muskerry district until they brought down from Donegal a portion of the Mac Sweeney galloglasses (between A.D. 1310 and 1320), who received for their services lands, on which they built the castles of Cloghdha and Mashanaglas.⁷ But the three families or minor septs, above mentioned, continued (as we shall show) as freeholders, subject to a small head rent, down to the confiscations of 1642.

Thus, at the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century the authority of the Chief of Kinelmeky did not extend beyond the boundaries of the barony that at present bears that name. It is described in an Inquisition of A.D. 1586 as "twelve miles in length," and within it were the parishes of Templemartin, Kilbrogan, Kilowen, and parts of Ballymodan, Brinny, Murragh, and Desertserges. Its sixty-three ploughlands contained nearly thirty-six thousand acres, estimated as twenty-eight thousand, without measurement, at the time of the confiscation. From the fertility of the soil, it must have been capable of maintaining a larger population than some of the western tribelands that had nominally a much larger number of ploughlands. It was described by Lord Burleigh in 1578 as "a proper territory," and the very same words were used, with more minute details, giving evidence of its fertility, about ten years afterwards by Robert Payne,⁸ an agent of the undertakers, in a small book or pamphlet that he wrote about the confiscated territories. In a Government return, of 1659, of the "profitable" and "unprofitable" acres of the different baronies, the "unprofitable portion of this barony was set down as *nil*."⁹

From the time of the division into the Eastern and Western Septs, for over three centuries, Kinelmeky was a Celtic outpost. From the junction of the Brinny river with the Bandon, one might travel almost in a direct line to Mitchelstown and the Galtees, and look in vain for a single Irish tribe.

In the earlier portion of the thirteenth century the Norman invaders began to systematically build castles to secure their acquisitions and facilitate further aggression. It was the advice of Giraldus "to imitate the example of Turges and his Ostmen, and sow Ireland with castles so situated

⁷ This is the received opinion, but in the "Munster Annals" above quoted there is an entry under 1237: "Cormac Fionn, son of Donal Mor na Curra Mac Carthy, died in his Castle of Mashanaglas." It may have been afterwards rebuilt. This entry shows the early date at which the Irish chiefs had begun to build castles, after the Norman invasion.

⁸ The full title is "A brief description of Ireland to XXV. of his partners for whom he is undertaker, by Robert Payne, A.D. 1590," edited by Dr. Aquila Smith, and published in vol. ii. of "Tracts relating to Ireland." He complains of the dishonest conduct of the English "undertakers" to those whom they enticed over from England to occupy the confiscated estates. He says that owing to the fruitfulness of the soil of Kinelmeky, Beecher got more tenants than any two in Munster.

⁹ Boyle (Earl of Cork) describes all the district near Bandon as "a mere waste of wood and bog serving as a retreat for wood kerns, rebels, thieves, and wolves." Cox has transcribed and adopted this account, so totally at variance with the above quoted authorities. Much change could not have been effected between 1619 and 1659. It was a favourite trick of the unvarnished Boyle to represent the lands he acquired as worthless. See in Gibson's "Hist of Cork" (vol. ii., pp. 31 and 37) his attempt to persuade Sir Walter Raleigh's son that the lands of his father (Sir Walter), which Boyle had contrived to acquire for a trifle, were all "utterly waste and yielded him no profit."

that their occupants could assist each other." In 1215 ¹⁰ (O'Donovan's note, *Annals of Four Masters*) a large number of castles had been erected in Munster, especially on the southern coast. It must soon have become apparent to the Chief of Kinelmeky that a primitive fort such as Rath Rathleann, the headquarters of the chiefs, his ancestors, for so many centuries, would not afford protection in case of a Norman invasion of the territory, and that a stronghold of the new type should be provided without delay. Hence we may conclude that Castle Lac (Cairteán na Leacá) must have been built not very long after 1215. About a mile and a half south of Rath Rathleann a site was selected adjoining the small plain which has been shown (supra p. 18) to have been the battlefield on which the victory was gained over the Danes in 1089. Windele, who visited the place in 1856, writes:—"To the west of the standing stones is the site of the castle which gives its present name to the place in conjunction with the Leachts. The ruins are low, and form almost a mound so as to present few features of the castellated structure. It was a solitary square tower, and from the dimensions it would seem to have been a 'peel house' (or 'peel tower'). It was erected in an ancient fort which has survived it in its moat and rampart."¹¹ The old structure had been used as a quarry when a mill was built in its vicinity towards the end of the eighteenth century. Castle Mahon was more recent than Castle Lac, and was of a much better type; the exact date of its erection is not known, but it cannot have been later than A.D. 1400, as the necessity for a castle south of the Bandon River must have been felt in the troublous days of the preceding century. We may readily believe that in that period of intense aggression on the part of the grantees of Henry the Second's Charter and of their representatives, the clan did not preserve its existence without much hard fighting. In 1359 the son of a chieftain, Tadhg, who from his place in the Genealogical Table must have flourished at that date, fell in battle, doubtless against some invader of the tribeland, according to the entry in the *Annals of Loch Ce*:—"Donal Mac Tadhg O'Mahouna occisus est."¹²

Barry Og, lord of Kinelea (separated from Kinelmeky by the river Mughin or Brinny river) had, or claimed to have, a piece of parchment giving him a title to Kinelmeky. The "title"¹³ was obtained from De Courcy as the representative of De Cogan, who was authorised by Henry II. to rob, if he could, the native proprietors of "one moiety of the kingdom of Cork." In Smith's *History of Cork* mention is made of an Inquisition

¹⁰ Castles were built in Ireland long before the Normans came. An O'Connor of Connacht was called "Tadhg of the three towers" in 954, and his grandson, "Tadhg of the Tower" in 1009. In 1124 three castles were built (*Annals Four M.*), and besides there was "Hags Castle" in Lough Mask, which still exists. The original Norman castles or "Peel Towers," with an entrance door to the first floor, were places of refuge not much differing, for that purpose, from the Round Towers of Ireland.

¹¹ Windele on the same occasion visited Rath Rathleann, without being able to identify it as Cian's Fort, but he inferred from its great size that it was a Riogh Rath or Royal Rath. He did not happen to meet local shanachies who could tell him the traditions about the Rath and Castle Lac.

¹² The *Annals Four Masters* have two entries—one that Donal "died," the other that he "was killed." The latter is confirmed by the *Annals of Loch Ce*.

¹³ See "Records of the Barrys" by Rev. E. Barry, who shows that De Courcy claimed a head rent from Barry Og as his feudal superior. In an Inquisition dated 1373, Milo De Courcy is set down as the owner of Kinelea, held by Philip Fitzwilliam Barry, The Barry Og. (Rotulorum patent, et claus, Cal., Dublin, 1828.)

held after the death of William De Barry, among whose possessions, held from De Courcy, are set down Kinelmeky and Ifflanloe (Ui Flon Lua in West Muskerry). But neither in Kinelmeky nor in Ifflanloe was any of the line of Barry Og able to acquire a foothold. Indeed the Kinelmeky Sept cannot have found the Kinelea pretender a formidable opponent, as the Barry Og of 1578, who had the same resources as his predecessors, is described by Lord Burleigh as a "poor beggarly Captayne of the land between Cork and Kinsale, called Kynoley" (Kinelea).

In the year 1400, if not somewhat earlier, the Connacht bard O'Heerin¹⁴ composed his topographical poem descriptive of the numerous tribelands of Leath Mogha, as Leinster and Munster were then called. To obtain the information oral and written that he required for such an exhaustive description he must, of course, have made the circuit of the two provinces. As he died in 1420 (*Annals F. M.*) at an advanced age, as O'Reilly discovered, we may fairly fix on 1400 as about the latest year in which he would be physically capable of such a laborious peregrination. We are not to suppose that in this circuit he visited *all* tribe lands, for he describes some of them vaguely and some erroneously. But the minutely accurate description that he gave of Kinelmeky suggests that he wrote from actual observation :—

Cinel m-Bece an fúinn easlaig
Imon Bandon m-báin-geadaig
Fear ar cathbada ón Muaidh Mhí.
O Maéghanna an éuain chuipgil.

TRANSLATION (Dr. Donovan).

"Cinel mBece the land of cattle
Around the Bandon of fair woods
A most warlike man from the rapid Muaidh
Is O'Mahouna of the harbour of white foam."

The territory is here described as on "both sides" of the Bandon, "of fair woods"—an epithet anticipating Spenser's "crowned with many a wood"—and the river opens out not far beyond the eastern boundary into "the harbour of white foam." He does not omit to notice the small river Muaidh, since known by its diminutive form Muaidhin (pr. Muaghin, written by Smith Mughin), which is the eastern boundary of Kinelmeky. These are minute descriptive touches. He shows that he was aware that there was another Sept of the name in the west, about which he has also a quatrain.

In this connection it will be convenient to mention some place names in the tribeland that preserve the memory of some ancestors of the Sept. The principal place-name is, of course, Kinelmeky itself, the spelling of which, in Irish, is correctly given in O'Heerin's quatrain. With reference to Smith's attempted derivation, which Bennett repeated, Dr. O'Donovan¹⁵ writes :—"Nothing can be more erroneous than Smith's

¹⁴ Topographical Poems of O'Dugan and O'Heerin, Ed., J. O'Donovan, LL.D., 1862.

¹⁵ In a letter to Dr. Aquila Smith (Editor of Payne's work, above quoted), who had asked for information as to the derivation of the place name.

derivation of the name in his *History of Cork*. It is taken altogether from the English spelling, and shows that he never saw the word in the original Irish. The genealogy of the O'Mahonys is traced up from Conn, son of Diarmuid Mor of Ivagha (1320) through twenty-four generations to Bec (or Bece), in the seventh century." Cox thus alludes to two other well-known place names:—"From this Kean (Cian, father of Mahon) was called Enniskean, and from Droghid i Mahoun Bandon Bridge" (*Regnum Corcagiense*). Droghid Ui Mahouna, "O'Mahon's bridge," was also called by Irish speakers "An droighid." The Bridge, a name indicating the great rarity of bridges at the time it was built. Curravreeda, "the enclosure of the hostages," carries us back (as also does Lisbanree) to the ninth and tenth centuries; Gurteen O'Mahon is still the name of a townland, and another is called Gurteen Conogher Og in some title deeds of the seventeenth century.

The Lords of Kinsale might be supposed to be interested in Barry Og's pretensions, as they were his feudal superiors. Nevertheless between them and the Kinelmeky Chieftains no dissension appears to have arisen after the twelfth century, and about 1450 there was a connection by marriage. In Lodge's *Peerage* (Archdall's Edition) we find the following (s. v. Kingsale, Baron):—"Nicholas De Courcey, twelfth Baron of Kinsale, married Mor,¹⁶ daughter of O'Mahon, chief of his sept and descended from Corc, King of Munster." This O'Mahon was Donal (son of Dermot, and ninth in descent from Donogh Na Himerce O'M.), whom Duald Mac Firbis, in his *Book of Munster*, sets down as a contemporary of his western cousin, Donogh O'M., Chief of Ivagha. As the latter succeeded in 1427 (the date of his father's death, *Annals Four M.*), and died in 1473 (*Annals of Loch Ce*), we can thus determine the time of Donal of Kinelmeky. In the above quotation from Lodge's *Peerage* we have substituted the true name, Mor, for Lodge's "Maurya," a female name not in use in the fifteenth century in Ireland. Dr. O'Donovan says:—"Mor was the name of many ladies in Elizabeth's time. In our own times it has been almost invariably Anglicised Mary, with which it is neither synonymous or cognate." (Preface to O'Dugan and O'Heerin). The twelfth Lord Kinsale died in 1474, and the following obit is taken from the *Liber Fratrum Minorum de Timolagge*:—"Ob. Nich. De Courcey suae nationis caput, vir Praeclarus." James, his son and successor, died in 1499, according to another obit of the same book. These extracts are found in Ware's Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (classed Rawlinson 479).

In view of the long array of ancient records that have been set forth in the course of this History from the sixth century down to O'Heerin's circuit in A.D. 1400, showing that Kinelmeky, named after their ancestor, was the cradle and the home of the O'Mahony Sept, it is unnecessary to notice at all Bennett's statement in his *History of Bandon* (first Ed.) that the Sept "came originally from Carbery, and intruded, about the year 1460, on Kinelmeky, which then belonged to the English Crown, and gave half of it to Mac Carthy Reagh for his assistance." But it may be

¹⁶ The name "Mor" is contained in the Kinelmeky place-name Curravordy, "the house of dark Mor" (cori ad mórui ruíbe).



BATTLEFIELD OF CAISLEAN NA LEACHTA (A.D. 1088.)
(Square Rath, on which are remains of Castle, in background.)

of interest to show what kind of history was manufactured about Irish tribes in the time of Elizabeth. That falsehood was doubtless suggested by the appellation "Carbery" or "of Carbery" attached to the name of the chief—an appellation misunderstood by those who were unacquainted with the peculiarities of Irish nomenclature, and unaware that Kinelmeky, on its western side, included a portion of the territory known from ancient times as "Carbery." When preparing for his second edition, Bennett had some perception of the absurdity of the statement he had so uncritically received, and sought to modify it into a less extravagant assertion, viz., that the Clan had been dislodged from Kinelmeky, their ancient patrimony, and *returned* to it 1460. But that is not the assertion of the authority that he followed, the Inquisition held in Cork in 1584, as quoted in Cox's *History of Ireland*, p. 383. The English colonists of Cork, who were the "Juratores" in that Inquisition, meant to say that "O'Mahown Carbry" began to occupy Kinelmeky for the first time in the above-mentioned year. Having put forward this unhistorical statement, they then proceeded to stultify themselves by deciding that, nevertheless, Conogher, the Chief who fell in the Desmond Insurrection, was owner of (not half but) the whole Barony of Kinelmeky, having somehow acquired a valid title to land that 120 years before was "the ancient inheritance of the Crown." They were as ignorant of English Law as of the history of the Irish tribe, or they would have known that their law recognised no "acquisitive prescription of land" that was known to have belonged to another even in the previous century.

Their "history" was adopted by none of their contemporaries. Two years afterwards it was completely ignored at the Youghal Inquisition (held regarding the same Chief and other participants in the insurrection), which simply decided that Conogher O'Mahony "died seized of the fee of the Barony of Kinelmeky." The decision was, of course, unjust to the members of the Clan, who held land by the same right as their Head, but it clearly implied that the Chief held by *unbroken* and *immemorial* possession. Four years afterwards, Bishop Lyon, in a letter which will presently be quoted at greater length, wrote that the Sept of the "O'Mahownies" were "ancient in Kinelmeky as Mac Carthy Reagh in Carbery." In the numerous State papers about Kinelmeky between 1584 and 1600, no notice at all is taken of the alleged "intrusion on Crown Land in 1460," though, if provable, it would summarily dispose of all the points raised against the confiscation and transfer to Beecher.¹⁷

The fact is that pages might be filled with the mis-statements made

¹⁷ The text of the Inquisition, given by Cox, is as follows:—"That Kinelmeky was the ancient inheritance of the Crown, and Barry Og (Farmer of it—i.e., lessee) paid the rent to the Exchequer; that O'Mahown Carbry intruded on it, and gave Mac Carthy Reagh half for protection. That Conogher O'Mahown was slain in the Earl of Desmond's rebellion, and died seized of the Seignory of Kinelmeky." The confectors of the above did not know that Barry Og derived his claim to all that he possessed, or pretended to, from De Courcey, Lord Kinsale; that therefore he held no right "from the Crown," and paid no rent to the Exchequer. The falsehood about the division of Kinelmeky is easily shown by comparing the present Kinelmeky with the Deanery of "Kinelea Ultra," already described. As has been stated in a previous page there was no change in the area of Kinelmeky since the time of Donal Gott Mac Carthy 1232. Mac Carthy Reagh, in his letter to the Privy Council, 1588, so far from endorsing the "history" given in the Inquisition, subverts its fundamental assertion about the "ancient inheritance of the Crown."

about the past history of Irish tribes by English colonists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus, the citizens of Cork, in a doleful letter written in 1449 to the Lord Deputy, inform him that "all the Irish of the South had been driven into the valley of Glennahought, between two great mountains, and there they lived many years as best they could with their white meats, until the English Lords fell at variance with one another," and then the Irish returned to their tribelands! Camden, followed by a writer of the Herald Office in 1600, asserted that it was "from Carew the O'Mahons received their land of Ivagha"—which has been proved to have been in possession of their ancestors four centuries before Carew's time. Spenser¹⁸ believed that the Mac Mahons and Mac Sweenys were descendants of Englishmen, Fitzurses and De Veres, who translated their names into Irish. Davies wrote that when the English took possession of the Pale all the Irish were expelled—a statement that Hardiman easily disproves, the fact being that the Irish retook possession of much of the original "Pale." Davies also asserts that no Irish chiefs built castles until they renounced Tanistry and adopted the English tenure—that is, that they built none until the 16th century! Only a very uncritical writer would think of making use of such authorities as the foregoing at the present time, when "criticism of one's sources" is regarded as the first duty of a historian.

The successor of Donal was his son Dermot Spáineach, "The Spanish," so called in the genealogies, as having served in his youth in the Spanish army, for some time, during that eventful period of the war with the Moors. Dermot's successor was his son Finghin. Towards the close of the century the *Annals of Loch Ce* have an entry under the year 1492 of the death of Finghin—"Finghin O Maḡḡanna rḡḡs." This is, of course, the entry of a chieftain's death, and the date distinguishes him from the contemporary Finghin "of the Western Land," who, according to the same Annals and the Four Masters, lived until 1496.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. "the country," says Mr. Gibson,¹⁹ "all but passed out of the hands of the English Monarch." There is no exaggeration in this statement. In the London State Paper Office there is a report of the state of Ireland compiled in the year 1515, which shows that the Pale had dwindled to portions of five counties, in which, moreover, the majority of the inhabitants were Irish. It proceeds to say that the greater part of Ireland was in the hands of the "Irish enemy," and divided into "sixty regions, some as large as shires, some more, some less, under a many captaynes, who obey no temporal person but him who is strong"—which the English King was *not*, as Surrey, a Lord Lieutenant in 1520, informed him in plain language. The report commences with the "regions and captaynes of Mounster," and beginning with Mac Carthy More, it mentions "O'Mahunde of Fousheragh (Fonn Iartharach, Ivagha), Chief Captayne of his nation," and "O'Mahund of Kynalmeke, Chief Captayne of his nation." "Nation" was but another name for sept; there was no Irish nation in the modern sense of the term. The writer of the report shows how incomplete was

¹⁸ Spenser, in his "View of the State of Ireland," accepts the Cork letter of 1449 as a trustworthy record.

¹⁹ Hist. of Cork, vol. i., p. 112.

the knowledge that English officials had of the Southern tribes, for he omitted to make mention of O'Sullivan Mor, O'Donoghue of the Glens, O'Donovan, O'Keeffe, and Mac Auliffe. The name "Irish Enemy" used in the report, as in all previous Acts of the Parliament of the Pale, was an accurately descriptive term, but, not long afterwards, the officials of the English Crown began to substitute for it the appellation of "rebels and traitors." The use of those names involved the arrogant assumption that those of the Irish who (like the two Septs whose history is here given) did not welcome an extension of English rule, owed, somehow, allegiance to a foreign king, too weak to perform the fundamental duty of keeping order, and disposed, like his predecessors, to carry out, if he got strong enough, the wholesale spoliation projected by Henry II.

The English power had considerably increased in 1541, not so much through any military successes as through dissensions in Munster. In that year the Lord Deputy St. Leger was sent over with special instructions to get the Irish Chiefs and Anglo-Irish nobles to acknowledge Henry VIII. as their "natural and liege lord" and as "supreme head of the Church in England and Ireland." In pursuance of his mission, St. Leger came to Cork, and his summons was obeyed by the three Barrys, five Irish Chiefs of the Co. Cork, and two of Kerry, who, if the Indenture given in Cox's *History* be authentic,²⁰ subscribed their names to the Declaration required of them. The Chief of Kinelmecky did not attend, neither did Connor Fionn, the head of the kindred Sept of Ivagha, nor his neighbours O'Driscoll and O'Donovan.

In 1551, as a State Paper informs us, when the Earl of Desmond visited the new Lord Deputy Crofts in Dublin, he found that the latter had resolved to call before him the Earl's son and Maurice, the Earl's brother "for preys taken from the O'Mahons," i.e., from those of Kinelmecky, which was easily invaded from Kerricurrihy, a Desmond possession, whereas the Western O'Mahons were practically inaccessible. The Lord Deputy cared little about the interests of an Irish tribe which had shown no loyalty, but it was a matter of State policy not to allow attacks to be made without permission on the "Irish enemy," and an Act of Parliament had been passed to that effect. For over three centuries, but especially since 1487, the Earls of Desmond and their immediate relatives had been harassing and plundering the Irish of South Munster, not, however, with impunity, for they were often repulsed²¹ with great slaughter. Thomas Davis, in his splendid but unhistorical poem on "The Geraldines," has thrown a glamour over the whole line of ruthless marauders, on account of the part taken by James Fitzmaurice, Earl Garret, and the "Sugán" Earl in the national movement in the time of Elizabeth.

In 1568 Sir Peter Carew came over from England to prosecute his

²⁰ Doubts have been expressed as to the authenticity of the clause in the Indenture acknowledging Henry as Head of the Church in Ireland, and discarding expressly the authority of the Pope. See "Records of the Barrys" on this point. It is certain that all the signatories (and their sons who succeeded them) lived and died members of the Catholic Church, and were never accused of having renounced their Creed.

²¹ As at Mourne Abbey in 1520 by Mac Carthy of Muskerry, at Innishannon in 1560 by Turlough Mac Sweeny and his gallowglasses in the pay of Mac Carthy Reagh, and in 1564, when Maurice, "the Freebooter," or Maurice Dubh, brother of the Earl, was killed in one of his forays in Muskerry. Mr. Gibson gives a good account of the incessant forays of the Desmond branch of the Geraldines.

claim to "one half of the Kingdom of Cork" as heir to Fitzstephen, one of the grantees of the Charter of Henry II. He produced a forged roll, which was received as evidence setting forth that "Fitzstephen's moiety contained Imokilly, Tyr Barry (Barry's country), Tyr Courcey (Courcey's country), Muskerry, Kinelmeky, Carbery, Ivagha, and the countries of O'Driscoll and O'Donovan," with some other districts in Kerry. "The corrupt Government of the day," says O'Donovan,²² "allowed the ludicrous claim—the claim of a collateral branch to be heirs of a bastard—in order to frighten the Earl of Desmond and the Irish chiefs." We hear nothing about the progress of his case until 1575. Cox, who carefully avoids stating whether there was any decision given in favour of Carew or not, relates that in 1575 "Sir Peter sent his agent, John Hooker, to Cork, where he had a solemn meeting with Mac Carthy Reagh, Cormac Mac Teig of Muskerry, Barry Og, O'Mahon, O'Driscoll, and others, and that they made this proposal to him, that they would advance three thousand kine with sheep, hogs and corn proportionable for the present; and that if Sir Peter would live among them they would pay a rent that would be reasonable; whereupon Hooker took a house for Sir Peter at Cork and another in Kinsale, but as Sir Peter was going that way he died in Wexford, Nov. 1575." Cox's account has been transcribed and adopted by Smith and Gibson in their County Histories. It may be that those chieftains resolved to submit to the inevitable. But it was certainly not credible that they displayed such abject servility as to *stipulate* that the man who came to carry out the long-deferred spoliation arranged by Henry II. should do them the favour of living among them. We can now compare Cox's narration, derived apparently from hearsay, with that of a first hand authority, the agent Hooker himself, whose original MS. has been published by Mr. MacLean in his *Life of Sir P. Carew*. Hooker, alias Vowell, says:—"And forthwith they all, the Lord Courcey, Lord Barry Oge, McArthy Riogh, the O'Mahons, McSweyne, O'Driscoll, O'Daly and sundry did conclude with this agent that they would submit their lands to Sir P. Carew and take same at a reasonable rent. And for that that was past they would give 3,000 kine, which they accounted to be one year's rent of the lands they did hold. The Earl of Desmond, the Lord Courcey, the Lord Roch, and Sir Cormac Mac Teig pretended great joy at Sir Peter's coming to live among them," but before any rent was paid Sir Peter died of a short and painful illness. But a serious objection may be raised against the agent's narrative. If there was such a compact as he mentions, it would have been duly reduced to writing, and could have been enforced by Sir George Carew, when he became his brother's heir on the death of his nephew at the skirmish of Glenmalure. He has never been considered to be so indifferent to his own interests as to be capable of renouncing such a vast income. If Lord Courcey took part in that compact with the agent, then the title deeds by which Cogan was said to have conveyed Courcey's Country and Kinelea to his ancestor are clearly proved to be mythical.

The O'Mahon at this date, and for some years previously, was Finghin (Fineen), son of Maolmuadh, who appears to have succeeded his brother Cian by Tanist law. He was married to a sister of Mac Carthy Reagh.

²² Annals Four M., vol. v., p. 1,738 note, where there is reference to the forged roll.

His name in the Latinized form, "Florentius O'Mahowney de O'Mahoone-Castle, gen. [erosus]," occurs in the "Inquisition held after the death of Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh," written in the "Law Latin" of the time, in June, 1576. In 1575, when Sir Henry Sidney, the conciliatory Lord Deputy, took up his residence in Cork for six weeks, he was visited by the Southern Chiefs generally, even by those who had made no declaration of allegiance, and had no intention of renouncing their status and adopting the English tenure. He wrote an account of his visitors, by many of whom he was favourably impressed, and he was considering a plan for attaching to the English Crown, by a distribution of titles, "those of them not yet nobilitated." His letter may be seen, in extenso, in Gibson's *History of Cork*, vol. i., p. 226. After mentioning several of the Irish "who in respect of their lands might pass as Barons in England or Ireland," he continues:—"O'Kyffe and Mac Fynnen, and the sons and heirs of Mac Auly and O'Callaghan, the old men not being able to come by reason of age. O'Mahon and O'Driscoll,²³ each of them, have land enough, with good order²⁴ to live like a Baron here or there. Of those descended of the English race Sir James Fitzgerald, &c., &c." It appears that only one of the O'Mahons attended, and it is impossible to determine which of the two is referred to in the above extract. Certain it is that neither of them, as their subsequent history shows, was influenced by a desire of obtaining an English title. Two years afterwards O'Mahon of Carbery was engaged in some proceeding which brought him into collision with the English Government, but the nature of which is not set forth in the Calendar of State Papers. In the record of the Fiants, 1577, we find:—"Pardon to Owen McCarthy Reagh, of Kilbrittain; Donal Mac Carthy, of Kilgobbin; Florence O'Mahowne, called O'Mahown Carberie, and Dermot O'Mahowne, of same place." In the same year, Fiant No. 3,039 has the following:—"O'Mahowne Carberie is suitor for the pardon of twenty-five of his men."

This is the proper occasion for exposing two mis-statements and mis-quotations of Mr. Bennett in his *History of Bandon*. "When Sir H. Sidney," he says, "visited Cork in 1575, one of those who visited him was O'Mahony, whom he represents as 'a man of small force, though a proper country.'" He found no such passage in Sir H. Sidney's letter. It occurs in a letter of Lord Burleigh's, in which also is found a depreciatory reference to Barry Og, quoted in a former page, and a querulous disparagement of several heads of Septs. But what would Burleigh call "a small force"? Mr. Bennett proceeds to make the description definite and precise:—"The chief of Castle-Mahon was not a powerful chief, for . . . it is recorded that his forces were twenty-six horse and one hundred and twenty kerne." Now this is a mere invention. There is no such record in the State Papers or histories of the time. Bennett had no hesitation about supplying the want. He saw in a report of Carew's that

²³ Dr. W. A. Copinger, in his notes to the new Ed. of Smith's *Cork* (vol. ii. of this Journal, p. 162), professes to give Sir H. Sidney's letter, and transcribes it accurately until he comes to the name "O'Driscoll," after which he places a full stop, and without any indication of omission, suppresses what follows in the same sentence and passes on to "Of those descended from the English," &c. Any such manipulation of historical documents should be discountenanced, even in matters of no great importance.

²⁴ Mr. Gibson does not say from what original he quoted; the Calendar of Carew MSS. has "to live like a knight."

the Western O'Mahon had seventy-two horse and two hundred and twenty kerne, but that under that chief's immediate command there were "twenty-six horse and one hundred and twenty kerne," the remainder being mustered by his cousin and subordinate, O'Mahon of Brin (Rossbrin). The "twenty-six horses and one hundred and twenty kerne" the historian transfers from the west and assigns to the Chief of Kinelmeky. This ingenious method of manufacturing history is hardly calculated to inspire his readers with confidence in his other statements and quotations. We will show in a subsequent page that the Clan, though weakened by its losses in the Desmond war, was able in 1601 to muster three hundred fighting men at about two hours' notice.

Fineen died in the beginning of 1579, leaving four sons, Conogher, his successor, and three others, to whom he bequeathed the three ploughlands which constituted the parish of Killowen.

Conogher O'Mahony succeeded to the chieftainship at the early age of twenty-three (as tradition tells) in the troubled and eventful year 1579. He was not, as the phrase ran, the "eldest and the best man of the blood," who usually succeeded almost as a matter of course, but he was eligible according to Tanist Law, and either his own personal qualities, or his deceased father's popularity in the Clan, secured his succession. In 1579, after the death of Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, the Earl of Desmond, after some vacillation, put himself at the head of the movement against Elizabeth, initiated and organised by his deceased kinsman. It has been called the Desmond "Rebellion," but from the point of view of the Irish Chiefs who took part in it, it was simply a continuation or renewal of the warfare that had for centuries been waged between the foreign invaders and the "Irish enemy," to whom an additional stimulus had been supplied by the enforcement of the persecuting Statute of 1559. Some nobles and heads of Septs did not openly take up arms, but all, without exception,²⁵ actively sympathised with the insurrection to an extent that was not known before the publication of Sir W. Pelham's letters. Kinelmeky had been ravaged by members of the House of Desmond, but past grievances were forgotten in the great crisis which had arrived. The young chieftain responded to the general call to arms, and led his clansmen to the rendezvous at Ballyhoura on the ninth of August, 1579.²⁶ It is stated by Bennett that he fell in 1582, but further research is necessary to discover the time and place of his death, as also of the death of O'Donoghue Mor and some other leading men among the Irish. A State Paper refers to an "Inquisition taken at Cork in 1584 of the lands of Conogher O'Mahown, traitor, slain in rebellion." He was no traitor, at all events, to the cause of his own race and country.

²⁵ Even that paragon of loyalty, Sir Cormac Mac Teig Mac Carthy, was thought to "draw two ways," and so Pelham took him to Limerick with fifteen other chiefs and Anglo-Irish gentlemen "who inclined towards the traitors." (Letter to Council in England, July, 1580.) Among the fifteen was Sir Owen Mac Carthy Reagh, who according to Warham St. Leger, "had as cankered a mind as any of them to the English Government, and would be in rebellion if he durst."

²⁶ These particulars are stated in the Youghal Inquisition of 1586: "Item dicunt quod Conoher O'Mahowneye, nuper de Kinealmeykye, seisitus fuit de feodo, de Castello, etc., et de omnibus terris, etc., eidem spectantium pertinentibus in Comitatu Cork, continentibus in longitudine circiter duodena miliarium, et sic seisitus existens, intravit in rebellionem apud Ballyhawry, nono die Augusti, anno dictae Dom Reginae nunc vicesimo secundo.

On the death of Conogher²⁷ in the Desmond war, his cousin-german, Donal, son of Cian, succeeded to the Chieftainship. In a State Paper, which shall be quoted later on, he is referred to as "the son of O'Mahown Carberie." Being the son of the Chieftain Finin's eldest brother (whose name is in the genealogy,²⁸ while Finin's is not), Donal might have expected to succeed his uncle, in 1579, in the ordinary course of Tanist Law, but as we have seen, his junior cousin was chosen in preference to him. His father Cian must have been the "O'Mahown Carberie," who married the daughter of Conor Fionn, Chief of Ivagha, after the death of her first husband, O'Driscoll, father of Sir Finen,²⁹ but it is possible that she was Cian's second wife, and that Donal was the son of a previous marriage. Donal O'Mahony is generally mentioned, in contemporary documents, with a sobriquet, spelled by English writers "Graney," which may have been derived from Grainne, possibly his mother's Christian name, but is probably, the English rendering of *ḡránóla*, ill-favoured. If the latter be the explanation of the name, it affords an additional instance of the inveterate propensity of clansmen to bestow on their leaders unflattering epithets reflecting on their personal appearance, such as "the lame, "the bent," "the bald," and many others that we meet so frequently in the Annals.³⁰ As the Tanist, or presumed successor, of Conogher, Donal must, according to immemorial usage, have accompanied him to the Desmond war. He returned home the accepted Chieftain of a Sept that was confronted with the imminent danger of confiscation and extinction. An Inquisition held in Cork in 1584, and another held in Youghal in October, 1586, prepared the way for the confiscation of the whole tribeland, and in order to make such a confiscation accord with the forms of English law, the "Juratores" declared (on oath) that the late Chief "slain in rebellion was seized as of fee, of the country of Kinelmeky." This finding was not only untrue but notoriously untrue. Nothing was better known about the Irish land system than that the Sept-land was the common property of the Sept, and that the Chief's proprietary right³¹ was of a very limited character, and not at all comparable to English ownership in fee simple. But it would have been tedious, if not impossible, to investigate the cases of all the clansmen who were out in "rebellion," and so the "Juratores" got at them in globo by the summary process of declaring the Chieftain the owner in fee from whom all his followers held. One does not easily see the motive of putting this strain on the consciences

²⁷ It is a curious coincidence that the representatives of the Cinel Aodha and the Cinel Laeghere, the two branches of the once united tribe, the Ui Eachach Mumhan, both fell in this war, and that in the official list (1589) of persons "for High Treason attained," are placed side by side the names of

"Conogher O'Mahony of Castlemahon,
Rory O'Donoghue (Mor) of Ross O'Donoghue."

²⁸ Geneal. MS. 23, G. 22., R. I. Acad.

²⁹ Harleian MSS. 1425, p. 25, Brit. Museum, as given in O'Donovan's Corcalaidhe, p. 401.

³⁰ Dr. O'Donovan mentions the singular fact that "Irish sobriquets were often given per antiphrasim" (use of a word in a sense opposite to its real meaning). Thus the most active of the O'Neill chiefs was called "Aedh the sluggish" (1230), and the epithet *ḡránóla* was applied to persons of comely appearance. (Preface to O'Dugan and O'Heerin.)

³¹ In some clans the Chief exercised the right of occasional redistribution of portions of the territory. But this fell far short of the right of an English feudal proprietor.

of the members of the Youghal Inquisition, when Perrott's Parliament had six months previously voted the attainder of all, whether then living or slain, who participated in the recent war, to the number of one hundred and forty. A considerable number, however, of those who took part in the Insurrection were pardoned—a measure due rather to the policy or weakness than to the humanity of the Government. Amongst those were the White Knight, Patrick Condon, and several Fitzgeralds; the Lord Barry escaped confiscation with the imposition of a fine. The success of so many in obtaining a remission of the attainder, and of the forfeiture of their properties, encouraged Donal to hope for a similar remission. In a letter of Florence McCarthy's (*Life of Florence*, p. 106), it is stated that he went to England, to the Privy Council, "to sue for his lands of Kinelmeky." But he was doomed to disappointment; the Government would not readily forego the opportunity of extinguishing an Irish tribe, however indulgently they might treat Anglo-Irish rebels. He kept up the claim during 1587, as we learn from the document among the State Papers headed, "Land in Munster allotted to undertakers, claimed by the Irish." In this document we find among other entries:—"Claimed by Mac Carthy Reagh and by one of the O'Mahownies of Kinelmeky, Kinelmeky the country of Conogher O'Mahony containing two seignories and a half."

Some observations must now be made on the novel claim of Owen McCarthy Reagh, mentioned in the foregoing document. No such pretensions had been put forward by any of his predecessors, or appear in their "Inquisitions." The Barry Oges, indeed, the lords of Kinelea, had been (as we have already seen) for centuries alleging a claim to Kinelmeky, as being Kinelea (Ultra)—a claim derived from the grantees of Henry II., authorised by that monarch to plunder Irish tribelands of the "Kingdom of Cork"—if they could. The Clan of the O'Mahons had ignored Barry Oge's parchment title, and successfully resisted his aggression. But if any Irish or Anglo-Irish Chief, especially a loyalist such as McCarthy Reagh, invaded Kinelmeky in order to acquire an over lordship, the Barry Oges would undoubtedly have made loud and reiterated complaints to the English Government³² about the aggression that would tend to deprive them of all chance of ever obtaining the coveted territory. There are no such complaints in the State Papers, because there was no such aggression. In 1562 they complained of the encroachments of the Earl of Desmond on Kinelea, others made similar complaints, and the Earl was forthwith obliged to give security that he would no longer molest the "Lord Great Barry, Little Barry (Barry Oge), Lord Roche, Mac Carthy Reagh, &c."

To maintain that a Clan which had lost its Chief in battle, either against native or English forces, thereby forfeited its right to choose his successor,

³² Mr. Gillman (Cork Hist. and Arch. "Journal," 1897, art. on the Castle of Dundanier) shows that "the Barry Oge was a persona grata to the English Government from the time of Henry VIII. to the Desmond Rebellion." He might have said the same of every Barry Oge since 1237, when Philip an Airgid was pardoned for a revolt on payment of a fine. The story told in the "Letter of the Citizens of Cork," in 1440, of Barry Oge's forfeiture at that period, is disproved by the researches of a special Commission in 1588, which failed to find the slightest evidence of the alleged forfeiture, and had to fall back on another device to extinguish his title to his lands. The Barry Oge of 1583 compromised in the Rebellion, did not trouble himself about renewing his "claim" to Kinelmeky, having quite enough to do to try and retain Kinelea.

and that its right to the soil lapsed to an extern Chieftain, who may have received its "Chiefries" or head rents, would be to make an assertion utterly at variance with Irish law, and repugnant to Irish sentiment. But the English Government was not indisposed to act on such a principle, in response to the petition of a loyalist, who could show that he had been the recognised "overlord" of a territory in such circumstances. Thus, the claim of Mac Carthy Mor to the lands of the patriot Chief, O'Donoghue Mor, slain in the "Rebellion," had been fully conceded in 1584. A like concession would have been made to Mac Carthy Reagh if he could show that he possessed over Kinelmeky³³ an authority similar to that which Mac Carthy Mor indisputably had over the territory of Loch Lene. As a loyalist, he had a better record than even Mac Carthy Mor. Of the native chiefs "few indeed," writes Mr. Mac Carthy Glas, "stood by the Government in the Desmond struggle. . . . Cormac Mac Carthy of Muskerry and Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh brought the whole force of their countries to assist the Government in its hour of need. In the long and gloomy struggle these men were found faithful." (*Life of Florence McCarthy*, p. 9.) Owen Mac Carthy Reagh had continued the policy of his brother, and supplied the English troops with provisions during the war. Whatever sentiments might be entertained with regard to him by local "undertakers" and their friends, the heads of the Irish Government had no prejudice against such a devoted supporter. But he failed to present to them even the semblance of a case. His claim was that "the O'Mahons held from him," because Kinelmeky "was parcell of Carbery," and he was "Lord of Carbery." We learn the contents of his first petition, presented in 1587, from the two questions proposed by Walsingham to Justice Jessua Smythe. Smythe's reply, too verbose to be quoted in extenso, is dated "Kinsale, April 14, 1588":—"And for Kinelmeky, whereof your honour would be informed, first, whether the barony or cantred be part of Carbery or distinct and several in itself . . . I have conferred with sundry of the best knowledge and credit, and I find that Kinelmeky is, and hath been since Henry II., a barony by itself, never parcel of Carbery, but some time of the territories of Barry Oge, an English Sept, and called by the English, Kinelea Ultra. For the second question, as to whether the O'Mahowne of Kinemleky be tenant at will to the Carthys of Carbery, that is a matter never heard of before, but a feigned plea devised when these causes were at hearing, to delude the Commissioners. But the contrary is well known, that the O'Mahowne is as ancient in Kinelmeky as Mac Carthy Reagh in Carbery . . . chosen by the like ceremony of Irish Captainry, by the country of Kinelmeky, according to the custom and right of the Sept, and never heard of to be either appointed or displaced by any Carthy."

One of those men "of good credit" with whom Smythe conferred was William Lyon, Protestant Bishop of Cork and Ross, whose letter he forwarded to Walsingham. Bishop Lyon writes as follows:—"Being of late requested by you to deliver my knowledge touching Kinelmeky, whether it be in Kinelea or Carbery, and whether the O'Mahownes have

³³ In the "surrender and regrant" of O'Donovan's lands in 1610, there is a saving clause "saving to Donnell McC. Reagh any chief rents, etc., payable to any of his ancestors. (From a Patent Roll of James I., quoted by Dr. O'Donovan, "Annals Four Masters," p. 2443.)

held it of the Carties My rolls of the Bishopric of Cork, which are accounted to be as authentic as they are ancient, plainly say that the Churches in Kinelmeky are in the Deanery of Kinelea Ultra, and for proof that it is in Kinelea Ultra the lord of Kinelea (Barry Oge), another deanery, doth make challenge to Kinelmeky as in Kinelea Ultra. And as to your other question, since my coming unto these parts I have often heard from persons of the best of credit that the O'Mahownes have never held of the Carties, but that they are ancient gentlemen of themselves and ancients than the Mac Carties it was never heard otherwise in the country but that the O'Mahownes held by inheritance successively, so that the Carties could not displace them." He concludes by expressing his belief that "the O'Mahownes now living will not confess themselves to be tenants of Mac Carthy." (Letter to Jessua Smythe, April 5th, 1588.)

This testimony, with other evidence contained in documents which he calls "offices," were sent by Smythe to Walsingham, and were brought before "Lord Anderson and the other Commissioners then at Cork" in September, 1588, and decision was given against Mac Carthy Reagh's pretensions. It may be said that Smythe and Bishop Lyon were hostile witnesses, and desirous of seeing Kinelmeky occupied by an English colony. But the accuracy of Bishop Lyon's statement as to the superior antiquity of the Clan of The O'Mahons (proved in the first part of this history) shows that he consulted competent antiquaries, and creates a presumption that his other assertions are also the result of careful inquiry. When he and Jessua Smythe denied that the appointment of the O'Mahon was made by Mac Carthy, they knew they were making a statement which could be very easily refuted (to their great discredit) if it were not true. The late Chieftain, Conogher, was inaugurated in 1579.³⁴ The inauguration of a Chieftain was a public and impressive event that was witnessed by thousands. Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare has given a graphic account of the details of the ceremonial. (*Hist. Cath. Hiberniae*, Lib. iii., Cap. iv.)

Owen Mac Carthy Reagh did not acquiesce in the decision given in Cork. He returned to the charge next year. His second petition was presented in August, 1589. It is preserved among the State Papers, and is a weak and confused document. In the commencement of it he quotes a sentence of Bishop Lyon's, without mentioning his name, and Justice Smythe's reference to the election of O'Mahon by Tanistry "as the Carties are in Carbery," and thus shows that he had read the case presented against him. Nevertheless he does not attempt to refute the express statement that he had nothing to do with the appointment, that is to say, the inauguration of the O'Mahon Chiefs. Neither does he state that he received an annual tribute, specifying the amount.³⁵ In other words, he was unable to prove the two points that were essential for estab-

³⁴ It took place, doubtless, in Rath Rathleann, as being the most ancient and historic place connect^d with the history of the Sept.

³⁵ Jessua Smythe, in his letter to Walsingham, thinks that there may have been an "extorted chieffy," i.e., one seized from time to time by force. An instance of such a seizure by Mac Carthy Reagh in the lands of a minor Sept of the MacCarthys is given in the "Life of Florence MacCarthy," p. 5, by Mr. MacCarthy Glas. Jessua Smythe's supposition is not borne out in the above petition; no "chieffy" is specifically mentioned at all. An "extorted" one would, if taken, be represented by Mac Carthy Reagh as due by hereditary right.

lishing the existence of an "overlordship." If he actually enjoyed the right which he claimed, those points could be proved by the testimony of witnesses then living. But he has no such testimony to produce. He is driven to the necessity of again repeating (from his former petition) that "Kinelmeky is parcell of Carbery," but he has nothing at all to say against the historical evidence which had been produced to show that the old tribe-name Kinelea comprehended Kinelmeky before the time of the formation of the Deaneries, Kinelea Ultra and Kinelea Citra, which took place early in the Norman period. He had to meet the allegation of Bishop Lyon that "the O'Mahons now living will not confess themselves to have been his tenants," and he practically confirms the allegation by not contradicting it. But his main reliance is not on legal or historical proofs, but on the claim he had on the Government as a loyal subject, and he concludes his petition by dwelling on the extent of his services at a critical time. "It may please your honourable Lordships respecting your suppliant's loyalty, and regarding his good service during the Rebellion, not to give credit to those that covet this land, but to grant him a favourable despatch of his petition, so that he may not be driven to remain here at greater cost than he can maintain." He had advanced³⁶ nothing new, and had not refuted the case made against his claim, and so "their Lordships" refused to alter the decision already arrived at. It is significant that Mr. McCarthy (Glas), who, from his extensive knowledge of the State Papers of the time, gives a very full account of Owen McCarthy Reagh's Chieftainship, and had occasion to quote a letter of Popham's, incidentally mentioning the rejection of the above petition, withholds the petition itself from publication, and carefully avoids saying one word in its defence.³⁷ The ignoble and unwarrantable claim was calculated—at least in 1587-1588—to embarrass the real proprietors of Kinelmeky and interfere with their last chance of obtaining restitution of their land.

The Commission held in Cork not only rejected the claim above stated and discussed, but also re-affirmed the finding of the two Inquisitions—"that Conogher O'Mahony was seized as of fee of the country of Kinelmeky." On the attainder of Conogher, and on that alone, was based the English Queen's title to dispose of the territory to two undertakers, Phane Beecher and Hugh Worth. Soon after the conclusion of the legal investigations above mentioned, the patents were signed on September 30th, and possession was taken of the confiscated land. The undertakers did not anticipate the trouble that was in store for them. The expropriated Chief and his people did not tamely acquiesce in the arrangements made for their extinction. Donal commenced at once a guerilla warfare, which ended only with his death in 1894." Twelve months subsequently Richard Harrison, "Attorney unto Phane Beecher," writes a doleful account of the undertakers:—"And then presently after came on Daniel Graney O'Mahon, with

³⁶ The claim put forward in his first petition he modifies as follows:—"Finin O'Mahowney (the Chief who preceded Conogher) did hold Kinelmeky of me—all but three ploughlands, which he demised to his sons." Three ploughlands, and only three, held independently of him. This contradictory and confused statement would seem to justify Lord Burleigh's description of Owen Mac Carthy Reagh as "a simple man." It seems to convey a hint to the Lords Commissioners that he would raise no objection to the confiscation of the three ploughlands occupied by Finin's sons.

³⁷ "Life of Florence McCarthy," pp. 11-100.

divers other malefactors, entered into Castle O'Mahon and burned the said Castle, and thence did take and spoil the goods therein belonging to the said Phane Beecher and others, and so continued in the country . . . whereupon those people that were ready to come from England, on hearing the report hereof, did stay from coming over then . . . there be six persons left by Mr. Beecher, besides those lately sent, at Castle Mahon . . . those Irish tenants that be upon the said seignory are such as he found there dwelling, and to avoid further trouble thought good not to displace them. Phane Beecher will return next March (1590). The whole nation of O'Mahons is to be suspected, for they do pretend title (i.e., maintain) and are brothers and cousins of the traitor, Daniel Graney O'Mahon." (State Papers, Ireland, vol. 146, in London Record Office.)

The burning of Castle Mahon, that is to say of everything combustible found in it, alarmed the undertakers of South Munster. Valentine Brown wrote from Kerry to the Privy Council:—"Donal Graney has burned O'Mahowne's Castle." Sir Thomas Norreys wrote to Lord Deputy and Council, mentioning, with three³⁸ other dangerous men, "O'Mahown Carbery's son, Donal Grainne, who doth greatly repine at the settling of undertakers in Kinelmeky, sometime his father's land." Unreasonable man Donal! David Barry, Lord Buttevant, wrote of Donal's "Rebellions in Kinelmeky," and insinuates that his (Lord Barry's) old enemy, Florence Mac Carthy, was a secret supporter of Donal's, and had made him a present of a sword as a token of sympathy. The bitterest of the letters of complaint was that of Justice Jessua Smythe (then residing in Kinsale) to Lord Burghley. It is curious to observe how he manages to conceal that the person whose action he reports was the Chief of Kinelmeky, and the occupier of the Castle from the beginning of 1583 to the attainder of his cousin in 1586. It is hard to conjecture his motive; could he have feared that Burghley might have some sympathy for the dispossessed proprietor? The penniless lawyer who had come over to Ireland to make a living in the midst of hardship and danger seeks to disparage as "a poor man now of mean estate" the long-descended head of an ancient Sept:—"One Donal Graney O'Mahown of late in England, of mean estate, but of great power to do hurt, went first out and stood on his keeping. When nothing was attempted against him, entered in and brake and burned a Castle called Castle O'Mahown in Kinelmeky forfeited to Her Majesty. There is daily adhering to him, providing of weapons (sic) to do all the murders they may. He walketh by night and often by day in Carbery at his pleasure. Nothing is done against him during the Governor's absence, but a faint pursuit by a few Carbery kerne men of his own feather. It is reported that a like company hath burned Dunbeacon Castle." The writer then goes on to recommend that vigorous action be taken against Donal, and that, for this purpose, "one Captain Bostock, who resideth at the boundary of Kinelmeky, be supplied with a sufficient number of kernes." The letter exhibits the weakness of the English Government, which could not provide English soldiers to protect the undertakers, but had to depend on hiring some stray "kernes," who,

³⁸ The other men "to be doubted" were Donal, base son of the Earl of Clancar, and the Lord Roche. Donal figures frequently in the State Papers as the Robin Hood of Munster, and was a thorn in the side of Valentine Brown, who therefore—*Haud ignarus mali*—had a fellow feeling for Phane Beecher.

naturally, had not their hearts in the work for which they were engaged. This Captain Bostock, a few years after, was suspected of treasonable communications with Capt. Jacques dei Franceschi (so often mentioned in the State Papers), and Lord Burghley, acting on information received from his own spies in Munster, wrote to Carew (June, 1601) ordering him to seize and search Bostock's papers on any plausible pretext, or "rather than it be not done, quacunque via." Carew replied:—"Touching Bostock . . . I have searched his coffers and found nothing; the pretext I made was for certain commissions granted to him and others about the title of O'Mahon's lands, whereof he had a portion, which for her Majesty's special service was required." So it appears that Beecher and Worthe had to pay Bostock for protection by surrendering to him some of the confiscated land allotted to them. They appear to have enjoyed a temporary respite during a part, at all events, of the year 1590, in which year Robert Payne, agent "of XXV. undertakers," wrote his "Brief Account of the State of Ireland,"³⁹ in which he says:—"There is one Mr. Phane Becher, who hath a great part of a proper country called Kinelmeky, about three miles from Timoleague and six from Kinsale. Through it runneth a goodly river called Bandon, wherein is a great store of fish of sundry kinds, salmon, trouts, &c. In his country is (sic) great woods, the trees of wonderful height, showing the fertility of the soil." But Lord Barry of Buttevant's mention of Donal's "Rebellions" in Kinelmeky (letter to Burghley, 1593) implies that, after intervals of peace, inroads were again and again made on the new-comers. Thus, harassing and harassed, the despoiled Chief spent the remainder of his life. His clansmen were to a great extent saved from being displaced, for only a few English colonists ventured to come into such a dangerous territory.⁴⁰

A peculiarly authenticated tradition states that an offer was made to Donal that he might retain half of his Septland, on agreeing to a pacific surrender of the remainder, and that he was asked the question: "Which side of the Bandon River would you prefer?" The refusal of the uncompromising Donal was expressed in an old proverbial saying, used when one declined to make a choice between two good things, but preferred to have both. The memory of the incident was preserved by the habitual association of his name, henceforward, with that proverbial saying, in Carbery and Muskerry, as long as the Irish language continued in ordinary use:—"Ἰ ὅτε ἀννῆτα ἅ ἐεῖτε ἱρ πέδῃρ ἰαθ, μαρ ἀουδαίρετ Ὁ Μᾶτξᾶμῃνα λεῖρ ἂν πέδῃρ ῥᾶλλῶα." "It is better have both," as O'Mahouna said to the foreigner." In one of the State Papers of 1587, p. 385, we find what should, in all probability, be regarded as a confirmation of this account. Under the heading of "Land allotted to undertakers in Munster, claimed by the Irish" is mentioned "Kinelmeky claimed by one of the O'Mahons" (Donal as we have already seen). Next follows an imperfect sentence:—"An offer was made . . . (then a blank). It is pretty safe to conclude that the "offer made," but for some private or political reason not fully stated, was the same offer above mentioned which tradition has preserved.

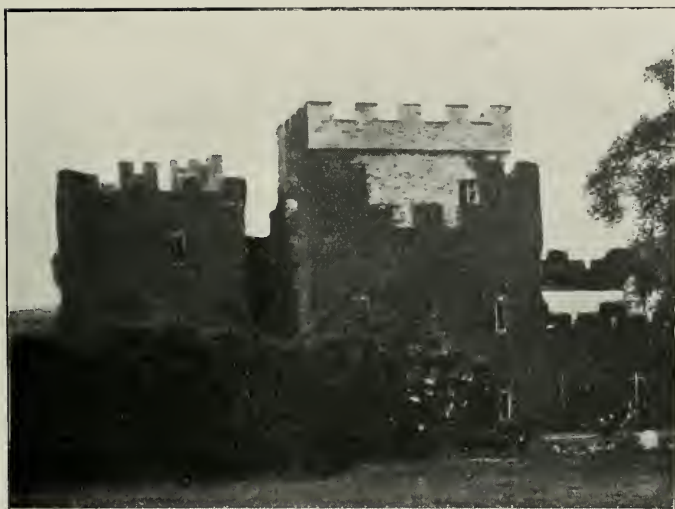
³⁹ Payne's work is a very small pamphlet. It gives some curious details. Throughout Munster "there is plenty of Iron Stone, which a smith here will, in his forge, make iron presently." "Swine will feed very fat in the woods (on mast and acorn) without any food given them by hand." He adds that "they will be fatted within two years."

⁴⁰ See quotation from Richard Harrison in a previous page.

About the end of 1593, or the beginning of 1594, death brought to a close the troubled career of Donal Grainne O'Mahony, who may be regarded in some respects as an Irish prototype of Scott's idealised "Master of Ravenswood." In 1594, a letter of Lord Barry of Buttevant refers to "Donal Grainne lately in action." The word "killed" is, in all probability, omitted after "lately." Less disputable evidence of his death is afforded by the mention made of his successor in 1594.

The Chieftainship of the doomed Clan reverted to the family of Finin, and his son, Dermod (a younger brother of the slain Conogher) was appointed to succeed Donal.⁴¹ We have seen in a previous page a reference in the *Fiants* to Finin "called O'Mahowne Carberie, of Castle O'Mahowne, and Dermod O'Mahowne of the same place." The year 1594 was remarkable for the number of suits brought before the Dublin Privy Council for the restitution of lands usurped or sequestrated. A State Paper has the following heading:—"Docquet of Irish suitors, Ormonde, Dunsany, D. O'Connor Sligo, Dermod O'Mahowne, alias O'Mahowne Carberie," and a number of others. By the example of many, known to be seeking for restoration of lands, Dermod was induced to desist, for a time, from his predecessor's policy of despair, and to raise once again before the Dublin Privy Council an objection to the assumption on which was based the confiscation of Kinelmeky—the assumption that the deceased Conogher held in fee simple the whole barony, that all its other occupiers held from him, and that all were involved in his forfeiture. In 1595 Florence McCarthy Reagh, who had a long experience of litigation about lands, offered to act as agent for the Chief of Kinelmeky, who was his cousin-german. Florence was himself interested, as Tanist of Carbery, in obtaining a recognition of the fact that Irish Customary Law did not invest a Chief with the proprietary rights of a feudal owner. If Donal McCarthy Reagh had a feudal tenure of Carbery, it was all over with Florence's chance of becoming his successor. In the very year and month (April, 1595) in which he commenced to act for Dermod O'Mahon, he had argued in a letter to Burghley that to treat Donal (na Pypy) McC. Reagh as having been heir to his country, in the English sense, "because the eldest brother's heir" would "mean to disinherit a whole Sept, being a thing that was never done in Ireland hitherto," and he points out that "Law doth allow custom as well in England as in Ireland," having perhaps specially before his mind the "Custom of Kent" and "Borough English." Florence considered himself entitled to say that no Sept had been disinherited through the recognition of a feudal title in its Chief, because the case of Kinelmeky was then "sub judice." In April, 1595, the members of the Privy Council, affecting to have received information which was new to them, to the effect that Conogher O'Mahon was not seized as of

⁴¹ In the year of Dermod's appointment, a scion of his house, a youthful member of the Jesuit Order, was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, a victim of the persecuting laws of the times. He had just returned from Rome, and probably intended to pass through England into his native country. In the list, preserved by the Order, of those who suffered with him on that occasion, he is called "John Cornelius." O'Sullivan Beare (*Hist. Cath. Comp.*) gives the following account of him:—"Pater Joannes O'Mahunus, alias Cornelius, sacerdos e sacra religione Societatis Jesu, in Kenalmeca, populo Iberniae, natus nobilibus parentibus et illustri familia O'Mahunorum, qui, juvenis in Angliam cum parentibus proficiscitur, indeque, Romam, religionemque professus, et sacris ordinibus initiatus in Angliam reversus, propter fidem Catholicam suspensus secatur, anno 1594."



THE "CASTLE O'MAHOWNE" OF THE STATE PAPERS
OF A.D. 1576-1588.

(The adjoining modern mansion is shaded out.)

fee of the castle and lands, &c., ordered, or (shall we say?) went through the form of ordering, that a new Inquisition be held on the subject. Had the order been carried out, and those interested allowed to attend the Inquisition (the Inquisitions of 1584 and 1586 had been held behind their backs), overwhelming evidence could have been given, by representative men of every Munster Sept, that the tenure of a Chieftain had been utterly misrepresented. But no action was taken on the letter of the Privy Council within the following twelve months, doubtless with their connivance, and in 1596 the Council wrote again⁴² to countermand their order. It was alleged, they say, by the undertakers that "a new inquiry *may prove injurious to Her Majesty.*" This was all the undertakers had to say against the case presented, but their extra-legal point appears to have struck the Privy Council "all of a heap." The Council knew right well what a real Inquisition would establish. At the end of the fourth century of English occupation they could not be ignorant of anything so notorious as the nature of a Chieftain's tenure. The right to other people's lands alleged to have "lapsed to Her Majesty" was in jeopardy. So they turn for counsel to the two English Chief Justices, and these worthies oblige them by giving the courtly opinion that a "decision already given for the Queen ought not to be disturbed by a new Inquisition, and that the

⁴² The document is interesting as throwing light on the administration of justice in those times, and is here given in extenso from the Acts of the Privy Council, p. 475:—"A letter to Sir Thomas Norris, knight, and the Counsell of the Province of Mounster there. Since the tyme that uppon an office founde for her Majestie uppon the attainer of Conor O'Mahon, the Castle of O'Mahon and the landes of Kilnalmaka in the countie of Corke were seysed to her Majesty's use (which was doone now a good manie years past) we have bin earnestlie sollicitid by contrarie petitions and complaintes concerninge the said castle and landes, for albeit that office then found uppon good and diligent inquisition on her Majesty's behalfe was approved and ratified by the now Lord Cheefe Justice of Englande, then her Majesty's Attorney Generall, the Lord Cheefe Justice of the Common Pleas, Mr. Baron Gent and Mr. Sergeant Heale and divers others learned in the lawes, nevertheless as at other tymes afterwards there was some controversie mooved by the pretended clayme of Dermod O'Mahon, and more latelie in the moneth of Aprill the last yeare 1595, uppon the solicitation of one Florenc Mac charta as an agent for Dermod O'Mahon, and uppon his informacion that Conor O'Mahon was never seised as of fee of that castle and goodes (sic), and the afforsaid office was undulie founde, letters were procured and obtayned from us to you, the Vice-President of Mounster, for a newe examination and inquisition to be made by an inquest of a sufficient number of the inhabitantes thereaboutes concerninge the rightfull interest of that castle and landes. So now againe on the contrarie parte one Henrie Beecher, sonne of Phane Beecher (who together with one Hugh Worth undertooke the said lands by patent from her Majestie), hath latelie made petition unto us, and complained that if the said new tryall by inquest do proceed it maie provee injurious notonlie to himselfe, the patentee, but also unto her Majestie. In this contrarietie of petitions and complaintes we have thought it the best course for the satisfaction of our myndes and performance of justice unto all parties to require the judgment of our verie good Lord, the Lord Cheefe Justice of England and the Lord Cheefe Justice of the Common Pleas, and thereon to relie for our certain resolution. Whose judgment forasmuch as we finde to be such as that of the office founde at the first by inquisition uppon the attainer of Conor O'Mahon for the Queene ought not to be drawn in question againe by anie new inquisition, but onlie by waie of petition, we have thought meete to preffer the judgment of the said Lords Cheefe Justices before our owne opinions, and therefore do now write theis our letters to make staie of anie new inquisition that maie be undertaken by vertue of our afforesaid letters in April, 1595, and do withall require you that if anie thinge be alreadie doone to the disadvantage or dispossessione of the said Henrie Beecher of anie parte or parcell of said landes or of his goods by vertue of our former letters, but you cause him or such persons as make clayme for him to be restored into his entire possession and state that he had in those landes before you received our former letters, leaving Dermod O'Mahon or such persons as do followe the suite for him to seeke the right that he or they pretend by such other means as are usuall and lawfull.

claimant could proceed by petition." This advice to the claimant to petition against the undertakers' patents was, of course, a mere mockery.

One might narrate without comment the seizure and confiscation, by undisguised physical force, of a tribeland whose leading men had, in defence of civil and religious liberty, joined in the late war against England. But the pretence of proceeding to confiscation under the forms of ordinary law—by the application of a law manifestly inapplicable to the case in question—must be characterised as a contemptible and hypocritical proceeding, to which such a judicial decision as the above was a suitable conclusion.

Dermot, after this experience of English law, reverted to the tactics of his predecessor. Naturally enough, perhaps, under the circumstances—for even Sir W. Herbert, a few years previously, had expressed his surprise that Munster was not more disturbed in consequence of the planting of the undertakers. Among the State Papers bearing the date 1599 is a fragment of a MS. History of the preceding years, in which we read:—"Mac Donogh, rebel in Duhallow, Dermot O'Mahon, rebel in Carbery."

In the eventful year 1598 "ill news from Ireland" continued to pour in on Cecil without intermission, the worst being Ormonde's declaration—"There are no means to withstand O'Neill." Cecil, in promising aid which he was not in a condition to send immediately, suggests to foment divisions, to promise assistance to the weaker of two competitors for a Chieftainship, and to placate with promises certain chiefs for whose lands "undertakers were clamouring."

The Munster Irish watched eagerly the progress of the Northern Chieftains, culminating in the great victory of Bealnathabuidhe, called by the English "The Journey of the Blackwater;" in a private State document⁴³ of that year it is very candidly termed the "Defeat and Runaway." O'Neill, after his victory, wrote to some of the Southern Chieftains to stimulate them to action. One of these letters was addressed to the Chieftain of Kinelmeky, as was discovered by Chief Justice Saxby, who writes as follows to the Privy Council:—"The Chief Rebels of Munster were solicited by Tyrone. To make them forward, he assured to James Fitzthomas the earldom of Desmond, to Donald, base son of McCarthy More, the earldom of Clancarthy [recte 'The title of McCarthy More'], to Dermot O'Mahon and the rest of his Sept the lands of Kinelmeky." In the Calendar of State Papers "David" occurs instead of "Dermot"—an obvious misprint. Of course, O'Neill must have written to some others, but these were all that were known to Saxby.

In the first week in October a strong force sent by O'Neill entered Munster, and "forthwith," says Camden, "all Munster revolted, not so much through the successes of the Rebels as through hatred of the undertakers." On the 12th of the same month, Ormonde writes to Elizabeth:—"At my coming into Munster, October 6th, I found that all the undertakers, three or four only accepted, had most shamefully forsaken all their castells and dwelling places, before any rebel came in sight, and left their castells with their munitions, stuff and cattel to the traytors." Among the castles thus hastily abandoned, "Castle Mahon, of Mr. Phane Becher," is expressly mentioned by Henry Smith in his *Report of the State of*

⁴³ "A conjectural Estimate of Her Mats Armye in Ireland, Sept., 1598."

Munster, written in Oct. 30th, 1598. Becher's partner, Hugh Worth, "having contracted a dangerous disease," had some time before returned to England. And so, on the second week in October, Dermod O'Mahon regained possession of his ancestral Castle. While the Castle belonged to its original owners there is reason to believe that there was attached to it a residence more convenient to live in, according to a practice which was becoming usual in the 16th century, as we shall see later on. This is obviously suggested by the language in which Cox refers to it in his *Regnum Corcagiense*,⁴⁴ written before the date (1715) of a more modern residence. Cox writes:—"Castle Mahon, the mansion house of O'Mahon, the proprietor of this country, is at this day (1687) one of the finest inland seats in the county." The name Castle Mahon (or Castle Mahoone) continued to be used for a long period after the confiscation in legal and official documents. As long as the Irish language was in general use, that is to say until some forty years ago, *Castleán uí Mhacáimhna* was the only name by which it was known to Irish speakers.

All went well with the restored Chieftain until March 16th of the following year, 1599, when a great disaster befell him and his people. Sir Thomas Norreys, the "Lord President of Munster" (Carew's predecessor), wrote to the Privy Council on March 26th: "Since my last letter in Ross, I continued in this country until March 16th, but could find no confirmation of the arrival of the Spaniards. I returned home by Kinelmeky, where the O'Mahons dwell, and burned their corn and spoiled the country." The more usual English method of destroying young corn-fields⁴⁵ was by a "pracas," a specially made kind of harrow, or when the corn was at a more advanced stage of growth, by cutting it with sickles and swords. Even this devastation wrung no promise of loyalty from the much-enduring Clan, though a repetition of these tactics by Carew next year broke the spirits (and no wonder) of their more powerful kinsmen of Ivagha, who then, says the *Pacata Hibernia*, "came into protection and remained good subjects until the Spanish came." No doubt Carew's systematic operations (see *Pacat. Hib.*, Bk. I, p. 138) inflicted more widespread damage in the west than the passing raid of Norreys did in his march through the eastern tribeland. The above letter was the last that Norreys wrote describing his soldierly exploits. He was killed soon after in some skirmish.

Dermod O'Mahon died some time towards the close of this year, and was succeeded by his brother, Maolmuadh, who was the last of his line. His name is anglicised Moelmoe in the *Pacata Hibernia* and the State Papers of the time, and by that name, therefore, it will be more convenient to call him in this narrative.⁴⁶ When a very young man he had been

⁴⁴ A Captain Gookin, who died about 1670, bequeathed to his wife "the manor of Castlemahon." In the list of M.P.'s of the year 1727 is "Stephen Bernard of Castlemahon." Finn's "Leinster Journal," in 1782, describes an accident that occurred "at Castlemahon near Bandon."

⁴⁵ Fynes Morrison relates that when the English soldiers shrank from executing this inhuman work in Leix, the land of the O'Moores, "the officers had to encourage them by their example, cutting down the corn with their swords, to the value of £10,000." Morrison expresses his admiration of the excellent cultivation of Leix by those whom he insolently calls barbarians. See notes to "Four Masters," vol. vi., p. 2187.

⁴⁶ Cox, who had not seen the Irish spelling of the name, calls him "Moyle More," and is followed by Smith ("Hist. of Cork").

"out" in the Desmond Insurrection under his brother Conogher, as appears from the statement of Carew, which shall be quoted presently.

In January, 1600, O'Neill announced that he was going to the South "to learn the intentions of the gentlemen of Munster regarding the great question of the nation's liberty and religion." Religious liberty he could not find in Munster wherever the Government had the power to enforce the Statute of 1559, subjecting to imprisonment for life (on a third conviction) all clergymen who would "refuse to use the Book of Common Prayer, and adopted any other form of worship, openly or privately, regarding the celebration of the Lord's Supper," and inflicting a like penalty "on all laymen who may attend such form of worship." (Lib. Statut., p. 201.) When O'Neill fixed his camp at Inniscarra on March 6th, Moelmoe was one of the Munster Chiefs who attended his levee, along with the Chieftain of Ivagha; the *Annals F. M.*, in their enumeration, mention in the plural "the O'Mahonys." "Those," says Carew, "whom Tyrone found obstinate in Rebellion he encouraged; from those who he held doubtful he took pledges." From the two chiefs mentioned he required to take no pledges. Moelmoe's visit to O'Neill's camp was not forgotten by Carew. Nine months, however—a rather long time—elapsed before any hostile action was taken against him, but in November a swoop was made on his territory:—"Sir Richard Percy drew his company forth of Kinsale into Kinelmeky, and there took a pray of two hundred cows and got the killing of some rebels." (*Pacata Hibernia*, p. 178.) After this mishap arrangements were made to watch the movements of the Kinsale garrison, and when the next raid was attempted in December the English soldiers, when they crossed the boundary of Kinelmeky (perhaps in the vicinity of Dundaniel), found themselves in presence of three hundred armed clansmen. Dermot Moyle (Maol) McCarthy, then a fugitive in Kinelmeky from the vengeance of Carew, who justly regarded him as "one of the most dangerous men" in Munster, joined his cousin in resisting the attacking party. No Irish account of the skirmish has come down. The account in the *Pacata Hibernia* in all probability minimises the number of soldiers sent on such a dangerous expedition, and attempts to disguise a defeat:—"The 21st of this month of December Sir Richard Percy sent sixty of his garrison at Kinsale into Kinelmeky, O'Mahon's countrie, to get the prey of the same, whereunto he was encouraged by one who promised to guide them, so they should not misse of all the coves in the same; Dermot Moyle Mac Cartie, Florence his brother, and Moylmo O'Mahon, the Chiefe of his Sept, having some intelligence of their coming, with three hundred foote and some horse, assailed them, not doubting but to have cut all their throats; for the space of two hours a good skirmish was maintained; but the Rebels not finding the Defendants to be Chikins, to be afraid at the sight of every cloud or kite, with some losse (of slain and hurt men) soberly retreated; of the garrison of Kinsale onely two private men were hurt, yet they returned ill pleased for that they missed of the booty expected." Reading between the lines, this means that the attacking party was beaten off. No other raid was attempted on Kinelmeky by the Kinsale garrison. Even if we suppose that the above account exaggerates considerably the number that opposed the raiders, and that the number was two hundred, not three hundred, it should be remembered that with such short notice it would be impossible

to muster even half the clansmen of a territory about twelve miles square. If besides we take into account the losses sustained in the Desmond war, and the diminution of the population consequent on the confiscation, we cannot put the fighting strength of the clan, in the year 1579, at less than five hundred men. The misrepresentation in Bennett's *History of Bandon* has been already exposed.

The next recorded event in the life of Moelmoe took place in July 20th, 1601. The "Spanish succour" was the subject uppermost in the mind of all. The policy of Carew was to discourage the Spanish Government from sending the expedition by seizing on those Chiefs whose co-operation with the invading force would be most necessary, and could be relied on. He had seized James Fitzthomas and Florence McCarthy, and sent them to the Tower of London. He then resolved "to lay hold of all such persons as had been most pernicious in the former warres, and likely to prove most dangerous in after times; these were principally four, Dermot Mac Owen Cartie, alias Mac Donogh, that was a partaker in the petition to the Pope's sanctitie; another Teg Mac Dermond Cartie, brother to Cormuc Lord of Muskerry; the third, Moilmo O'Mahon, Chiefe of the Sept of the O'Mahons in Kinelmeky; and the fourth and last was Dermot Moil Mac Cartie, brother to Florence Mac Cartie." (*Pacata Hibernia*, p. 314.) The plan that he adopted to get them in his power reveals the weakness of the Government at the time. He could not send a force into their tribelands to arrest them. The device he adopts, he tells us, was "to invite all the freeholders of the county to the Assizes in Cork," and to arrest those Chiefs as soon as they came. This is not a "plain unvarnished tale." Those who had lately been fighting against the Royal troops, and who were constantly described as rebels, would not think that the general invitation was meant for them, nor would they trust themselves to Carew on the strength of it. It is plain that he must have sent special messengers or letters to convey to them the impression that the past was now forgotten, and that they would be no longer treated as enemies. By this fraudulent plan he lured Moelmoe, McDonogh, and Teig McCormack to Cork, and imprisoned them forthwith. The cautious Dermot Maol McCarthy waited to see "how his friends sped, and then conveyed himself to the North among his fellow-rebels."⁴⁷ (*Pac. Hibern.* p. 314.) Moelmoe and his two associates did not regain their liberty until the middle of the year 1603. The fate of these three intrepid men has been a peculiarly hard one. They were seized and imprisoned by Carew, as, in his judgment, the most ardent and dangerous opponents of English rule. But in after ages injustice has been done to their memories by the assertion so often repeated in popular histories and popular lectures, that no Munster Chiefs would lend a helping hand to the Spanish Expedition and to O'Neill, except O'Sullivan Beare and O'Driscoll—two men of "untainted loyalty," whom Carew implicitly trusted, and did not mean to imprison, and who had refused to come to meet O'Neill at Inniscarra in 1600. O'Sullivan was

⁴⁷ Carew then wrote to Cecil, Aug. 6th:—"Of the Irish I have restrained (imprisoned) three principal men, the pretended Lord of Duhallow, the Tanist of Muskerry, and the pretended Lord of Kinelmeky, all to my knowledge dangerous persons." Next week he wrote again about "the three gentlemen whom I lately restrained," and described two of them as relatives of Florence and of his surname, and says that "O'Mahon is his aunt's son."

embarrassed by the consideration of the help the English had given him against a competitor for the Chieftainship, until he began to realise that the help was given not for his sake, but for the purpose of dividing the tribeland.

The Northern Chieftains on the march to Kinsale selected Kinelmeky as their camping ground and as the rendezvous of their Munster adherents. So Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare expressly states ("in ea Carberiae parte quae Kinelmeka appellatur"), and his statement is confirmed by a letter from Carew to Mountjoy, stating that O'Donnell marched from Croom into O'Mahon's Country; he omits to say that the march was not direct. Kinelmeky was the only friendly territory on the way to Kinsale; McCarthy, the Lord of the Country of Muskerry, had already sent on a thousand men to oppose the Spaniards. (*Pacata Hib.*, p. 362.) Thence the Irish army marched to their next encampment at Coolcarran wood, near Kinsale, and doubtless included a considerable contingent from the now leaderless clan of the imprisoned Moelmoe.⁴⁸ The battle of Kinsale belongs to the general history of Ireland. But it is hard to refrain from some comment on the unhistorical statement often repeated in recent times, that "the English army defeated the Irish at Kinsale." More than half the so-called English Army consisted of Irish clansmen, whose chiefs had decided to support the English Government. It is an indisputable fact that whenever the English troops since 1590 (without any or with few Irish auxiliaries) met an equal number of Irish, the English were defeated and made what their own historians, Camden, Dymock, Harrington, &c., describe as cowardly retreats.⁴⁹

In April, 1602, three months after the battle of Kinsale, Carew, in his march from Cork to besiege Dunboy, made a long detour towards the South to avoid passing through Kinelmeky, still occupied by the hostile tribe, whose spirit was not quite broken by the disaster at Kinsale. The reason assigned by Smith (*History of Cork*) for this circuitous march is that Kinelmeky was impassable owing to natural obstacles. But such a description of that territory has been already shown to be unfounded. Smith's conjecture is not confirmed, but rather virtually contradicted, by the author of the *Pacata Hibernia*, who had no hesitation in describing a portion of Carew's route in West Cork as almost impassable.

About a year after the battle of Kinsale the people of Carbery formed a combination to resist the depredations and cruelties of Carew's officers. An account of the skirmish which ensued may be seen in Macgeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, translated and condensed from O'Sullivan Beare's account.⁵⁰ In the contest Moelmoe's younger brother, Teig O'Mahon (whom

⁴⁸ Philip O'Sullivan Beare mentions "O'Mahunus Carbrius" among the "Veteres Hiberni qui pro patria et fide Catholica pugnauerunt," on account of the known intention of Moelmoe and the action taken by his Clan. His brother "Thaddæus O'Mahunus Carbrius" is set down in the list of the "Alii nobiles viri, factorum celebritate multis eorum quos retulimus superiores, non tamen principes familiarum seu ditionum." (*Hist. Cath. Hibern.*, pp. 142 and 143, Ed. 1850.)

⁴⁹ Essex, in 1590, wrote of the soldierly qualities of the Irish:—"The Irish have able bodies, good use of the arms they carry and boldness to attempt." Sir H. Harrington wrote in the same year:—"Our soldiers no sooner saw the enemy than they cast away their arms and would not strike one blow for their lives. Yet the enemy were not more numerous. All I could do would never make one of them turn his face towards the rebels."

⁵⁰ The following is Don Philip's account of the engagement:—"Illi (the Irish) armorum numero inferiores erant. Utrunque ad Cladacham sylvam parum prospere dimi-

O'Sullivan calls Thaddæus) distinguished himself. "He had the glory," says Maceoghegan, "of beginning the action and repulsed those who were opposed to him." Then follows an account of the bravery and death of Owen Mac Egan, Bishop-Elect of Ross, whose loss disheartened the Irish and caused them to retreat and disperse. The sons of Sir Owen McCarthy, who took a leading part in getting up this insurrection, were pardoned through Captain Taaffe's influence. O'Sullivan Beare says that Teig O'Mahon, taken during a truce, was beheaded. According to local tradition, the scene of this remarkable skirmish was Grilagh, south of the Bandon river and west of Ballineen.

The Insurrection was now quite extinct, and the three "dangerous men" in Cork prison were dangerous no longer. Carew, however, detained them for nearly five months after the skirmish of Grilagh. They yielded to the inevitable, accepted his conditions, and their prison doors were at length thrown open.

Moelmoe was liberated on June 9th, 1603 (as a State Paper informs us), Mac Carthy Reagh Mac Carthy of Blarney and three others becoming securities "that Moelmoe O'Mahon alias O'Mahown de Kinelmeka will be of dutiful behaviour, and that his son and heir remain in the custody of the gentleman porter as a pledge for the loyalty of his father."

The "undertakers" now returned to his land, and the clansmen were soon displaced.⁵¹ But he seems to have been allowed to occupy for life his own lands of Killowen, for in a State Paper of 1612, five hundred trees are said to be marked for Government service "in the land of Moelmoe O'Mahon of Killowen."

The date of his death may possibly be ascertained by further research through State Papers. When he was laid to rest in the tomb of his ancestors in Timoleague Abbey,⁵² with him ended, not unworthily, a long line of Chieftains which had lasted one thousand one hundred years.

The son of Moelmoe was liberated towards the close of the year 1603 (State Paper), but nothing is known of his subsequent career. Probably he entered the Spanish service, as did a good many of his kinsmen of Ivagha, according to the *Pacata Hibernia* and some State Papers. In a genealogical MS. in the R. I. Academy, classed 23, G 1, compiled about 1650 (as appears from internal evidence), Mahon, nephew of the Chieftain, Donal Grainne, is set down as the nominal Head of a Sept, which, as such, had ceased to exist.

catur. Priore die Thaddæus, Muscriis peditibus occurrens, quatuordecim occidit, caeteros in fugam vertens. Posteriore die, idem, Mac Carrhae equites, Dermysius, et Mac Suinni equites, offendentes peditatus hostilis tumultura, circiter quadraginta interficiunt. Eodem momento alii Mac Carrharum pedites dissipati a regio equitatu circumventi viginti interimuntur, caeteri funduntur." Thaddæus was the son of a former "O'Mahon of Carbery," Fineen, not of Moelmoe, who was his brother. The English account of the fight, in the "Pacata Hibernia, p. 66r, omits the names of nearly all the Irish leaders, but otherwise confirms O'Sullivan's narration: "The Rebels gave them so brave a charge as that they were disordered and some of them slain," etc."

⁵¹ Phane Beecher brought over not only farmers and agricultural labourers, but also some carpenters and weavers. There is a generally accepted tradition that a member of the latter trade had a son and grandson who rose to a considerable social position.

⁵² "Annals Four Masters," A.D. 1240. This abbey was also the burial place of other members of the Tribe. In his will, dated 1665 (preserved in the Record Office) "John Mac Teige O'Mahony Lawdhir," then living in Kilcaskin, directs that his body be buried in Timoleague.

PART V.

THE MINOR SEPTS OF MUSKERRY.

From the main line of the chiefs descended from Mahon five minor septs or families branched off between A.D. 1259 and 1330. These were known as Clan Fineen, Clan Conogher, the Ui Floin Luadh, Sliocht Donail of Kilnaglory, and Sliocht Diarmada Oig of Kerry. The two last-mentioned will be more conveniently reserved for the concluding portion of this history. Of the first three, which were seated in West Muskerry, we shall now give some account, and in proceeding to do so it will be necessary to repeat a few passages from a previous page (130). East Muskerry (except a small portion) became detached from the tribeland ruled by the head of the undivided sept, Donogh na Himerce O'M., when De Cogan, a few years after the Norman Invasion, succeeded in seizing the fort of Dun Draighnean, afterwards the site of Castlemore. On the death of De Cogan, the fort and territory which he had seized passed into the possession of what was afterwards known as the Muskerry (or Blarney) branch of the Mac Carthys. But a long time, nearly two centuries, elapsed before they were able to annex the West Muskerry district, which remained, as of old, subject to the Chiefs of Kinelmeky. This district was co-extensive with the parishes of Kilmichael, Kilmurry and Dunisky, and included also part of Moviddy in East Muskerry. It was bounded on the north by the Lee, was about ten miles in length, and contained sixty-three ploughlands. Each of three successive chieftains of Kinelmeky bestowed a portion of it on a young relative, and thus originated the three sub-septs already mentioned. Each of these small septs, after a time, began to elect a chief of its own, subordinate, of course, to the chief paramount of the whole clan. This state of things continued until about A.D. 1460.¹ The current tradition in Carbery and Muskerry in the beginning of the 19th century, at a time when the Irish language still flourished, and an interest was taken in such traditions, was, that by the aid of the Mac Sweenys, "the Clan of Galloglasses," who were invited down from the North, the Mac Carthy Chiefs succeeded in annexing West Muskerry to their possessions. Independently of the well-established tradition, the foregoing statement would be sufficiently attested by the sites of the castles in which the Mac Sweenys were placed (at first) as warders. These Castles,² Cloghdha, Carrig Dermot Og, and Mashanaglas, were erected on the eastern fringe of the territory held by the Clan Fineen and their relatives. The date of the advent of the Mac Sweenys may be approximately determined by means of a pedigree compiled by Carew and preserved at Lambeth. (Cod. 636). In it he states that the first of the Muskerry branch of the Mac Sweenys, Edmond, "was drawn from Ulster by Cormac Mac

¹ The statement made in p. 73 (*supra*) as to the time when West Muskerry became detached from Kinelmeky is here corrected, in view of the evidence now produced from Carew's Codex 635, Lambeth Library, but not known to the writer when page 73 was written.

² Cloghdha and Mashanaglas appear to have been afterwards re-built.

Carthy"³—the same who built Kilcrea in 1467 and died in 1494. But the three minor septs whose history we are recounting appear to have offered a stout resistance to their combined invaders, if we may judge from the favourable terms which they secured for themselves when, at the end of the contest, they consented to pay tribute. They were allowed to retain the absolute ownership of their lands, and even to continue their established custom of electing chiefs, at whose inauguration, however, they had to pay⁴ a fixed "chiefry." Nicholas Brown, in his account of the septs of Munster in 1597, makes the following reference to them:—"There are divers gentlemen that are freeholders in the country of Muskerry, viz., . . . Ifflonloe, Clanfineen, and Clanconogher." (State Papers, Brt. Museum.)

CLAN FINEEN.

The Clan Fineen, called by the Irish genealogists "Clan Fineen na Ceitherne," occupied about twenty ploughlands in the eastern and more fertile portion of the West Muskerry territory (with a part of the parish of Moviddy), roughly indicated in the inaccurate map which is reproduced on the opposite page from the *Pacata Hibernia*.

This sept was the oldest of the five minor septs of the name already enumerated. It derived its appellation from Fineen, son of Macraith, eldest son of Dermot Mór I.,⁵ who, as has been mentioned in a previous page, fell in a skirmish in 1259, according to the (Bodleian) *Annals of Innisfallen*. An Irish genealogical MS. in the R.I.A. (23 H., i.e., p. 2) has the following:—"Dermot Mór (son of Donogh na Himerce Timchoil) had four sons, Macraith, Tadhg, Ricard and Donal. And Macraith's son was Finin, from whom are descended the Clan Fineen na Ceitherne." If the law of Primogeniture were recognised by the Irish in the 13th century, Fineen would have been Chief of Kinelmeky⁶ or of Ivagha, of which his uncle, Tadhg, became chief. But Tanistry preferred the grand-uncle and uncle to the youthful and inexperienced nephew. But though Finin and his successors were only heads of a small sub-clan, genealogically they were the main line of Mahon's descendants, and all other families in the eastern

³ The Earl of Desmond and Mac Carthy Reagh were also largely indebted to the Mac Sweeny Clan for the predominant position they obtained. Those galloglasses had the advantage of being professional soldiers, who did not, like the kernes, return in time of peace to agricultural work, but were maintained by the Chiefs who had need of their services. Burleigh wrote (1577) that "one sept of the Mac Swynes directs Owen Mac Carthy Reagh as they list." Sir H. Sidney wrote to the Privy Council in 1575:—"There came to me five brethren, all captains of galloglasses, called Mac Swynes, who, though I place them last, are of as much consequence as any of the rest; for of such credit and force were they grown into, that (although they were no lords of lands themselves) they would make the greatest lords of the province in fear of them, and glad of their friendship."

⁴ Calendar of Carew MSS.

⁵ It has been already explained in a footnote that in the Genealogical Table No. 3, by a lapsus calami, Macraith was called the second son of Dermot. As there was an accidental error in the genealogy of the Clan Finin, as given in that Genealogical Table (in the first part of this History), it is now repeated in an amended form:—"Macraith, eldest son of Dermot Mor, Finin (a quo Clan Finin), Cian, Donogh Ruadh, Donogh, Maolmuadh, Mahon, Dermot, Mahon Ruadh, Tadhg, Finin, Tadhg, Dermot (1617-1633).

⁶ Conobar, younger brother of Dermot Mor, was first Chief of Kinelmeky after Ivagha was detached from it.

and western tribelands were the branches. Fineen received the designation of "na Ceitherne," i.e., "of the bands or troops" (not of the kernes, Ceithearnaighe), an appellation borne by many ancient Irish chiefs, and indicating some position, difficult now to determine, in the tribal army. As one of his descendants was called Donogh Ruadh, Clan Fineen is set down by Duaid Mac Fírbis, in the *Book of Munster*, under the heading "O'Mahouna Ruadh." In the *Liber Tenurarum* and an Inquisition held in Cork in 1629, we find mention made of one of this sept, "Finin Roe (Ruadh) O'Mahoon," who died in 1628, and is declared to have been the owner in fee of the townland of Pullerick, in the parish of Kilmurry (a townland of 726 acres), and whose son and heir was "Donogh O'Mahoon." In that same Inquisition, Finin is declared to be owner in fee of Dirach and Lackybegge (not identified), which he had mortgaged. The *Liber Tenurarum* mentions a son of his as owner in fee of the townland of Ballymihil (now Ballymichael), near the village of Kilmurry.

The senior representative of this line from 1617 to 1663 was Dermot, son of Teig, whose name is the last given in the Irish genealogy. He was the owner in fee of Farnanes in the parish of Moviddy, at present one townland, then divided into two, and containing five hundred and eighty acres. It appears from a Chancery Bill, dated A.D. 1617, that he "had the right of inheritance to the said lands," that he had to sue Cormac Mac Carthy, Lord of Muskerry, who interfered with his right; that he was successful in his suit against Mac Carthy, but had to make a further complaint against a friend of his own who was detaining his title deeds. He was the undisturbed owner in 1641. He joined the Insurrection of that year, and his name appears (with those of many of his kinsmen of Ivagha) in the list of the outlawed—"Dermot O'Mahony, of Farnanes, gentleman." His lands were confiscated, but he recovered them after the Restoration of Charles II., and died in 1663. In the list of "Claims lodged at Chichester House, Dublin in 1700-1701" is the "Claim of Darby (Dermot) O'Mahony, an ancient poor gentleman, grandson and heir of Dermot Mac Tieg Mahony, who in 1663 died, owner of the 2 plowlands of Farnanes, in the Co. Cork, which had been sequestrated after 1641, and which his ancestors for several ages past owned in fee, and which claimant, after a long struggle, recovered from the Countess of Clancarty, and held till about 2 years ago, when he was dispossessed by one Thos. Crook, who claimed it as part of the Clancarty estate (which had been confiscated after 1690). That all claimant's deeds have been lost in the late troubles, or in 1641." It is almost unnecessary to say that the land was never recovered from the clutches of Crook, from whom, or after whose time, it passed to one Connor or Conner. No more is known of the claimant. But the writer has recently found that there are still existing several families known as "Mahony Fineens," and one small landholder in Kinelmeky known as "Mahony na Keherny," a name indicating his descent from Finin, son of Macraith, as clearly as it could be shown by any parchment pedigree.

Of the Clan Conogher there is little to record, except that it descended from Conogher O'M., who was the grandson of the third "O'Mahony of Carbery." From his place in the genealogical list this Conogher must have flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and the Kinelmeky Chief, who was able to make a grant of land to his young

relative in the Muskerry district, is thus shown to have retained his authority over that district in the above-mentioned period. The land of this sub-sept adjoined that of the Clan Fineen on the west, being situate partly in the parish of Kilmurphy and partly in Kilmichael, and it contained sixteen or eighteen ploughlands. The Clan Conogher was the most recent of the septs.

THE SEPT OF IFFLONLOE (UI FLOIN LUADH).

The name of this territory, which comprised twenty-eight ploughlands in the western part of Kilmichael, existed long before the time of the first distinctive ancestor of this sub-sept. According to the antiquaries whom Smith consulted when compiling his *History of the County Cork*, the name Ifflonloe was given to a much wider territory, namely, "the parishes of Kilmurphy, Moviddy, Canneboy, Aglish, &c., from Flan one of the Mahonys nursed there, who conquered almost all this tract, as appears from the ancient Irish lines" (which we have previously quoted). He describes Flan as a predecessor of Bece, who lived in the seventh century. We have shown that Flan or Flon was another name for Criomphthán, a remote ancestor of Mahon's.⁷ But the name Ui Flon Luadh had become restricted, in the 14th century, to the portion of West Muskerry above defined, which the Chief of Kinelmeky bestowed on his cousin, the son of Tadhg an Oir (brother of Dermot Mor II. of Ivagha) about the year 1320. In consequence of their descent from Tadhg an Oir, this sept has been called "O'Mahony an Oir," and there are a few families which are still so designated. One of this line about the close of the sixteenth century was Concobar, who acquired the soubriquet of "an Crochair," i.e., of the bier; the real or legendary reason given by tradition for this epithet is alluded to in his article on "The Nicknames of the Fiantis," by the late Canon Lycens:—"The traditional reason for the name in a sept of the O'Mahonys was that their progenitor carried a bier on his shoulders over a rugged road where four men together had failed." (*Cork Arch. Journal*, 1895.) The head of the sept, or of what remained of it, in 1700 was Cian an Cróchair, in praise of whom there is extant a poem written in 1719 by Donal na Tuile, the last tribal bard of the MacCarthys of Glennachroim.⁸ There is an ancient tomb in Kilmichael graveyard in which the last Cian and his ancestors of the Ui Flon Luadh were interred. This Cian's son was Cornelius, who obtained a Commission in the Spanish Army, rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Knight Commander of a distinguished Order, and died in 1776. He appointed as executor of his will his namesake, of the Kerry branch, Count Demetrius (Dermot) O'Mahony, Ambassador of the King of Spain to Vienna, and son of Count Daniel, the

⁷ And not from Fion, an ancestor of the Ui Floinn.

⁸ Hence this sept, as regards antiquity of origin, comes next after the Clan Finin na Ceithirne. O'Heerin (*Topogr. Poem*) heard a confused account about this latter sept, as he makes O'Ceithearnaigh a tribal name:—

"A fine land, that we dare not pass over,
O'Ceithearnaigh the smooth-skinned obtained,
Ui Flon Lua about the far-extending Lee,
Scions of fresh aspect like their fathers."

—O'Donovan's Translation.

hero of Cremona, known in French military history as "Le fameux Mahony." The Ambassador exerted himself to find out the heirs of his friend, and succeeded in doing so by the aid of Maurice O'Connell of Derrynane, who got his Cork agent to make the necessary inquiries and to pay the legacies. The receipt of the legatees is given in Mrs. O'Connell's *Life of the Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade*. It is as follows:—"We, the under-written Cornelius O'Mahony, Kean O'M., Elizabeth O'M., and Mary O'M., nephews and nieces of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Cornelius O'Mahony, deceased, in the Spanish service, acknowledge to have received from his Excellency Count O'Mahony, Ambassador from the Court of Spain to that of Vienna, by the hands of Martin French, Esq., the sum of ninety pounds sterling, making, with the sums already transmitted to us, the full amount of the inheritance from our said uncle, for which we signed two receipts of the same tenor."

D'Alton, in his Appendix to King James's Army List, states that "in 1605 Sir Willam Taaffe had a grant in Muskerry of the entire territory of Ifflonloe, containing twenty-eight small carucates or townlands," which he says was "the property of Daniel Mac Conogher O'Mahony of Rossbrin Castle, attainted for taking part in the Desmond Insurrection." This latter assertion is simply an erroneous guess of one unacquainted with Co. Cork geography or tribal history. The owner of Rossbrin belonged to a different sept of the clan, and had no connection with Muskerry. A State paper about the lands that he forfeited will be quoted later on. It is not credible that Ifflonloe was confiscated in 1615 and handed over to Taaffe, as no one of its landowners is mentioned among the "attainted," and no passage in the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1605 bears out D'Alton's assertion. But he undoubtedly must have seen some record giving the number of townlands in the district, which number exactly corresponds with the traditional account given to the present writer many years ago by an old man who was the grandson of one of the legatees above mentioned. There is no proof that the district was confiscated before the Cromwellian period.

To some one of the three septs belonged Conogher O'Mahony, a member of the Jesuit Order, who was born in Muskerry, according to Ware (*Irish Writers*, p. 121-122), studied, as he tells us himself, in Spain, and wrote in 1645 a book which caused a considerable commotion and was vehemently assailed by more than one party. The title of the book is "Disputatio Apologetica de Jure Regni Hiberniae adversus Haereticus Anglos, Auctore Constantino Marulo, Artium et S. Theologiae Magistro. Francofurti, 1645." That it was written in some Continental country, there appears to be intrinsic evidence, for in referring his readers to Irish histories, he says that he had not access to them when he was writing. He openly admitted the authorship in Lisbon (Ware, *Irish Writers*), and certainly selected a pseudonym not calculated to secure perfect concealment, as "Constantinus" was one of the two Latinized forms employed for Conogher, a Christian name that had become almost peculiar to those who bore his surname at that period. It is in point of form a scholastic treatise of about one hundred pages (quarto), in which various arguments are adduced to prove that the Kings of England never acquired a just title to Ireland, either by Henry the Second's invasion, or by subsequent prescription; that even if they did, they had forfeited all right by their tyranny; that every

Community, be it a kingdom or be it a republic, has the right to depose a tyrant (p. 65) who by plundering, oppressing and persecuting the people broke the virtual contract that existed between the governor and the governed (p. 72). Here we have a curious anticipation of the argument from the violation of the "original compact," set forth in the English Act of Parliament, which, forty-four years afterwards, declared the deposition of James II. After concluding his arguments and replying to objections, he then subjoins, by way of appendix, an "Exhortatio," or rhetorical address, in which, having dwelt on the confiscations and persecutions, he strongly urges the Irish people to shake off the yoke of the English King and elect as King one of their own race and faith; they should imitate other nations (whom he enumerates) that had kings of their own race. He exhorts them to persevere in the war; that they had good generals and brave soldiers, and sufficient resources in the tributes that could be withheld from the English King. He then urges them either to extirpate their enemies or expel them from Ireland (vel occidatis vel ex Hiberniae finibus expellatis). This passage has been unfairly represented as an incitement to an indiscriminate massacre or assassination. But in the context—in the paragraph (19) preceding that passage and in the sentence following it—*he is expressly speaking of ordinary warfare*. When this work began to circulate in Ireland the Government made every effort to discover the author that he might be tried for high treason. In Hardiman's *Hist. of Galway* we find that the Mayor and burgesses of that loyal town in 1646 signalised themselves by denouncing, "by way of prevention," the book of which they had failed to obtain a copy—"We do adjure and detest the damnable and seditious book and the doctrine therein contained, and will censure and *damn the same with the author thereof*, if we light on them, to scorching and revengeful fire." In the following year the Supreme Council of the Confederation of Kilkeny condemned the book and ordered it to be burned. Ware makes the improbable statement that this was done "against the will of the Nuncio Rinuccini, who saved from punishment John Bane, parish priest of Athlone, on whom a book was found." Ware asserts that "the Supreme Council were ashamed of the too bold advances made in this book, and as it tended to create disunion between the Irish of race and the Irish of blood, condemned it, &c." Cox, as might be expected, says that "it was burned for form sake, but allowed to be privately dispersed." In the prefix to his *History* he says that "the advice of Mr. Mahony was not to make a priest of any of the English race, nor trust any that are." Neither Ware nor Cox can have read this work, which makes no distinction at all between the Celtic Catholics and those of Norman descent. To form a fair estimate of the *Disputatio Apologetica*, it should be borne in mind that for more than a century before 1645 English statesmen and political writers had advocated the extermination of the Irish people. This inhuman policy had been put forward, first by the Privy Council in 1540 (Gibson, *Hist. of Cork*, vol. i., 154) then by Essex⁹ in 1574, by Lord Cork, whose letter Hardiman quotes, and by Spenser in his *View of the State of Ireland*. It was vehemently supported by Milton. Some time before the Rebellion of 1641, according to

⁹ Essex (the first Earl) writing to Elizabeth in 1574 contrasts the relative advantages of conquest and extirpation:—"The force which shall bring about the one, shall do the other, and it may be done without any show that such a thing is meant." History records his failure and miserable end.

Carte (*Life of Ormond*) "Sir W. Parsons, a 'Lord Justice,' declared at a banquet in Dublin that in twelve months a Catholic would not be seen in Ireland." The right of deposing a tyrannical sovereign was defended by Milton in his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in 1649, and became an accepted political doctrine in England before the end of the century. The author of the *Disputatio Apologetica* and the dominant party in England and among the English colonists in Ireland held the same principles in political affairs, but applied them in opposite directions. The author, says Ware, "was an old man in 1650, but the year of his death is not known."

The book had become very rare and was almost forgotten when, in order, it is said, to prejudice the cause of Catholic Emancipation, fifty copies were reprinted in Dublin before 1829.

In the next part the history of the Western Sept of Ivagha will be commenced.

PART VI.¹

Origin of the name Ivagha. *Uí Eadac Mumhan*, the Clan Eochy of Munster (as has been previously stated), was the original name of the tribe, which, since the close of the eleventh century, has been called after one of its chieftains of that century, Mahon, son of Cian. It became in process of time, like other tribal names, territorial. The word has clearly a territorial signification in the *Book of Rights* (circa A.D. 1014) in which the head of the Sept is referred to as *ʳí ón-eadac n-oll*, the adjective meaning "great" in the sense of extensive." This name, or, to speak with strict accuracy, its prepositional form, *Uí Eadac*, has been anglicised Ivagha (sometimes Evagha) in English State papers and historical works, since the middle of the sixteenth century. The territory of an Ulster tribe which bore the same Irish name has been anglicised Iveagh. It is an advantage that the habitats of two similarly named but unrelated tribes should be thus discriminated; in deviating from this established usage a mistake was made by O'Grady (*Silva Gadelica*) and by the translator of the *Vision of Mac Conglinne*.

The application of this territorial name varied with the vicissitudes of the tribe.

In the history of South Munster there is no fact attested by more abundant evidence (evidence unknown to Smith and Gibson) than that the Sept-land of the *Uí Eachach Mumhan* during many centuries extended from Cork to the Mizen Head, as one continuous territory, including Kinelea and Muskerry, and was ruled by a chief whose principal residence was Rath Rathleann, in Kinelmeky. When stating in a previous page that the territory had expanded to those dimensions before the year A.D. 800, the present writer had not then discovered the ancient Annals known to Sir James Ware as "The Munster Annals," and erroneously classed in the R. I. Academy as "Annals of Innisfallen." From this authority we learn that, instead of being the gradual growth of centuries between the time of Corc and A.D. 800, the territory above defined was the patri-

¹ This is a suitable occasion for indicating two misleading productions which have been considered to be sources of information about the present subject. I. The first is an article of two pages which appeared in the "Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal," year 1897, vol. iii., 2nd Series, p. 304, written as a review of a contribution of Mr. Harold Frederic's to the New York "Times." The two pages—with the exception of one passage quoted and applied from the Four Masters—are simply a tissue of misstatements. The reckless writer went to his imagination for some of his "facts"; others he derived from State papers bearing on the affairs of the Eastern Sept, which he adapted to the Western by leaving out the words that refer to Kinelmeky and its circumstances in 1588. To refute his errors in detail would be a waste of time and space. II. The next is a paper of the Herald Office, A.D. 1600, containing a pedigree, with accompanying notes, published in the new Ed. of Smith's "Cork," pp. 269 and 270. Of the pedigree it is enough to say that (down to A.D. 1300) it is utterly at variance with Duaid Mac Fírbis and all the Irish genealogical MSS. in the R. I. Academy and the Library of T.C.D. The notes are equally erroneous as regards the mediæval history of the Sept. In preparing for a new edition of Smith's "Cork," it would be well to expunge this paper.

² *Eadac*, nominative; *Eadac*, genitive; *uí Eadac*, descendants of Eochy, is a nominative plural; *ón-Eadac*, genitive plural; *níb-Eadac*, dative plural, or "prepositional."

mony, which the eponymous ancestor of the Tribe,³ Eochy, inherited from his father, Cas (the second son of Corc), who governed, likewise, the district between Cork and Carn Thierna, near Fermoy. By the same Annalist, under the year 979, Carn Thierna and Carn Ui Neid (the Mizen Head), are given as limits of the Sept-land during the chieftainship of Cian, A.D. 979—1014. This assertion is confirmed by topographical evidence and oral tradition. Windele⁴ explored an ancient Fort, not many miles north of Carn Thierna, which he found to bear the name of "Lios Ratha Cian (recte "Céin, genitive of Cian), and to have attached to it the local tradition that "it was the head of all the forts in the County." In the time of Mahon, as we learn from the *Leabhar Oiris*, the entire country that he ruled over was divided into nine districts or subdenominations—*naoí b-fonn*. One of these was the Fonn-Iartharach or "Western Land," whose extent is determined for us by the circumstance that it became a "Decanatus" or Deanery, which comprised the parishes of "Kilmoe, Kilmacomogue, Scoole (Schull), Caheragh, Kilcrohane, and Durrus." To this the name Ivagha was narrowed after the division of the Sept. In this "Western Land" the Ri Rathleann had in the eighth century one of the three Duns which by custom and the Brehon law a Ri was expected to have. This was Dun Coba at the boundary of Ivagha and Corca Laidhe, as is stated by the author of the *Vision of Mac Conglinne*, which, though containing fictitious incidents, introduces personages and place-names, known from other sources to be historical.

When stating that the district which has been thus described was a part of the possessions of the Chief of Rathleann, we do not mean to say that there were no families in it except those of the dominant tribe. It is quite possible that some families of the Corca Laidhe, or of a tribe that preceded them, may have been permitted to remain as tributaries, and continued to live in their ancient homes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But of this there is no evidence. Topography attests that the Ui Baire (for instance) were at one time seated in Muintervary, but when, or how long, it cannot say. O'Daly, O'Glavin, and O'Mehigan held portions of land from the Chieftain of Ivagha by virtue of their hereditary functions, as will be shown later on.

There was a time when the authority of O'Heerin's descriptive poem used to be invoked to determine beyond question the habitats of tribes in Munster. But such an estimate of O'Heerin's authority will be held by no one who has read with care the critical notes of Dr. O'Donovan in his edition of the *Topographical Poem*, and later research has discovered errors in the poem which escaped the notice of that learned editor. The

³ Its entries about events of the eleventh century coincide verbally with those that Sir James Ware quotes from "Munster Annals." These Annals open abruptly with the passage about the patrimony of Cas, brother of Aengus, contemporary of St. Patrick:—*Curo Cair (mic Cuirc mic Olioll Flanbig, mic Fiaca muilleacáin mic Eógan móir, mic Olioll Oluim) son Muimán. 1. ó Corra Cigeanna a n-aice Feaia-Muirge, go Cairn Ui Néro, laim le Ciuacáin, agus o rliabh-Caoín, a n-aice na iata go Fainge téar.*

The transcriber took "Cuirc" to be an abbreviation of "Cormaic"; this error is here rectified. Sliabh Caoín, the northern boundary, is the hill east of Macroom, afterwards Sliabh Min, now corrupted to Sleaven. Flan, a successor of Cas, made the "Muskerry Paps" (and the Blackwater) the northern boundary. See Irish quatrain in Smith's "Cork," New Ed., p. 14.

⁴ Windele Papers, R. I. Acad., Cork Topography. Excursion to Kilmaclenlin.

Bard was unable to acquire his information, invariably, from a personal investigation in each tribeland, and frequently had recourse to conjecture and hearsay, and to books that gave not the historical but the semi-mythical occupiers of a district. The greatest of his blunders, that which places the O'Callaghan tribe in Bearra and Kinelea, has been already commented on. In one of the above-mentioned parishes, Kilmoccommoge, he placed, around Bantry, the tribe of "O'Beke of the race of Fergus of Uladh," but no such tribe is known to history, tradition or topography. The origin of this error may be easily explained. He heard or read that there was by the western coast a Cineal mBeice—the "race of Beke, son of Fergus," and, not being familiar with *this earlier portion of the Genealogy of the O'Mahonys*, erroneously inferred the existence of a tribe of O'Beke sprung from a Fergus whom he supposed to be the Fergus whose name was more familiar to him, namely, Fergus Mac Roigh, the exiled northern king. In the present History, O'Heerin has been quoted only in confirmation of facts already sufficiently proved from some other source.

Though the Fonn-Iartharach was wrested from the Corca Laidhe at a very remote date, a considerable number of the tribal names of the displaced Sept, which had become place-names, have come down to the present time, affording, as Canon Lyons acutely pointed out (in his article on the Western place-names), a confirmation of the old Irish tract, *The Genealogy of Corca Laidhe*. But it would be unreasonable to assume that all the place-names of Ivagha are of Corca Laidhe origin, and that none of them were derived from the Sept of the Ui Eachach who occupied the territory for twelve centuries. It may be fairly maintained that Leacan Mic Aedha and Scrahan Ui Laeghere, with Doire Laeghere (Derry Leary), were derived from Aedh and Laeghere, the ancestors of the two branches of the Ui Eachach. Rossbrin (spelled always in Irish, Rop Drioin) was called after Bron, grandfather of Cian. Balteen Macraith was a portion of the lands of the Tanist Macraith, son of Dermot O'Mahon, slain in battle in 1259. So, also, it appears to be beyond doubt that the large territory, east of the Fonn-Iartharach, Clan Shealbaigh, received its name from one of the Ui Eachach chiefs of the seventh century, Selbach (in praise of whose father and ancestors there is extant a distich in the *Book of Ballymote*, p. 173), and not from the Corca Laidhe Clan-Shealbaigh, one of the nine very small and obscure families of the district of O'Dongaile.

It was in consequence of the long coast line of this region that the tribe got the reputation for seamanship referred to by the author of the *Wars of the Gael and Gaill*, when stating that they helped Brian in a naval expedition. From this quarter, also,⁵ in the year 1209, was brought in ships a reinforcement to Kinelea, to Donogh na Himerce O'M., then engaged in resisting the invasion of Finin of Leac Laghtin MacCarthy (so called "a loco occisionis"). The battle was an indecisive one, as the Annalist only records that "many persons fell on that occasion."

The name Ardmanagh (Αρτο-νά-μανάς), "the height of the monks," proclaims, with evidence as satisfactory as any written record could afford, the fact that in the townland which is still so named there once existed

⁵ (Dublin) "Annals of Innisfallen."

a monastery. In another townland, called Bawnaknockane, there were said to be the remains of an ancient religious house (Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, 1837). There had also been erected by some Head of the Sept, or with his necessary co-operation, a "Schola," or seat of learning, said to have been "in connection with the School of Ross"—which probably means nothing more than that its first teachers were invited from that more ancient foundation. Its memory is preserved in the name of the parish, Schull—an altered form of Schola—which, under the name "Schoole," is mentioned with other parishes in a Bull of Innocent III. confirming the privileges of the See of Cork, in the year 1199. In subsequent official documents the parish is called "Parochia S. Mariae de Schola." As the Schola must have been a considerable time in existence before it could impart its name to a very extensive district around it, we may infer that its erection was long anterior to the Norman invasion. Its ruins have been identified in the townland of South Schull.

The organization of the early Irish Church was distinctly tribal, whether or not we believe to be authentic the statement of the *Leabhar Breac*:—"Patrick, in his testament, said 'Let there be a chief bishop to every tribe in Ireland.'" The ancient diocese of Cork was identified with the tribeland of Mahon and his predecessors, who, accordingly, provided a most liberal endowment for their spiritual head. The greater part of that endowment was in the Fonn-Iartharach—⁶nine ploughlands in Schull; the adjoining island of Mawninnish (Castle Island) one ploughland and a half; the island called the West Calves, one ploughland and a half; at Cruachán (Crookhaven) one ploughland and a half; three ploughlands in Kilcrohane and three in Kilmoccommogue, making a total of twenty-five and a half ploughlands in the west. In the middle and eastern portions of the tribeland fourteen ploughlands were set apart for the same purpose. The clansmen, of course, continued to occupy those lands, paying to the See of Cork the rent or dues that they would have to pay to the chief if he retained those lands for himself.

When a division of the Sept became inevitable, in the circumstances previously narrated, after the year 1260, Dermot Mór, its acknowledged Head, might have elected to remain at Rath Rathleann and retain the fertile lands of Kinelmecky, to which was still attached the district of West Muskerry, afterwards distributed among the three minor septs or subsepts of the clan. But he made choice of the "Western Land" for himself and his posterity, and his brother, Concobar, became Chief of Kinelmecky. The motives of this preference for the distant and less fertile region in West Cork are stated by Sir Richard Cox with tolerable accuracy, but not without some conjectures suggested by prejudice, in his MS., "*Carberiae Notitia*," compiled in 1686:—"The best and the eldest branch of this family was O'Mahon Fune (Fionn), who resided in West Carbery, and was commonly called O'Mahon Onyerer (recte Aniarthair), or "of the West." His chief seats were Ardintenant and ⁷Three Castle Head, and he is said to have had twelve castles of his own. The other branch was O'Mahon Carbery, and his seat was at Castle Mahon. . . . And it is

⁶ Smith's "Hist. of Cork," p. 128. Rent Roll of the Diocese of Cork.

⁷ Another castle in which he used to reside was Ballydevlin. (Inquisition of 1612.)

observable that the principal Irish always kept as near the sea as they could, though in the most barren and mountainous countries. And the reasons were, that they had the profits of their creeks and havens. They had correspondence with and received advantages from Spain and other foreign countries; they were the freer from the English forces, and consequently they had greater liberty of tyrannizing over their followers and neighbours and of securing such prey as they could take. Thus we see O'Sullivan Mor in Dunkerron, MacCarthy Mor in Iverath, and the great O'Mahon in Ivagha and Muintervarry, &c." The special advantages, then, of the "Western Land" were (1) the wealth derived directly from the fisheries, (2) the harbour dues, and (3) the facility afforded for trading with foreign nations. The importance of Ivagha as centre of the fisheries is attested by Camden (*Britannia*, 1586): "Tertium promontorium est Evaugh (Ivagha) inter Bantre et Baltimore, qui copiosa halecum captura notissimus est sinus"; and in a MS. in the British Museum (Lansdowne 242) by a contemporary of Cox: "But none of the fisheries of Munster are so well known as is the promontory of Evagh (Ivagha), whereunto every year a great fleet of Spaniards and Portuguese used to resort even in the midst of ye winter to fish also for cod." The letter of the citizens of Cork in 1450 (quoted on a former occasion) dwells on the large incomes that the English adventurers on the south and west coasts—the "Lords Caro (Carew), Arundel, and Sliney derived from creeks and havens."

The dues exacted from the foreign vessels which made use of the harbours of Crookhaven, Schull, Dunmanus, &c., must have been considerable, but no particulars about them are given in the ⁸Inquisition about the property of an Ivagha chief, Conor Fionn O'Mahony, who died in 1592. The Inquisition held about twenty years after his death is very imperfect; it sets forth the deceased Chief's castles and ploughlands, but is silent about the amount of his harbour dues and imperfect as to his tributes from his kinsmen, the other proprietors of castles in his tribeland. But we may assume that the harbour dues were similar to those demanded at Baltimore, of which there is an account in the Inquisition held on Fineen O'Driscoll. O'Sullivan Beare's income from such dues was estimated by Carew at three hundred pounds a year, and at five hundred a year by the author of the *Pacata Hibernia*, equivalent to eight or ten times that amount of money at the present day. The income from the same source obtained by the Chief of Ivagha must have been still more considerable, as the peninsula was situated between two bays, Dunmanus and Baltimore, and as it enabled him to build more castles and maintain more horsemen for military purposes than any two of the Western tribes.

Though the sea was the principal source of wealth to the tribe of Ivagha, the land, amidst much waste, contained many fertile portions that attracted after the ⁹confiscation many English settlers. Owing to the present treeless condition of the whole peninsula ending in the Mizen Head, many will be surprised to learn that most of it was well wooded in the 12th century. In the (Dublin) *Annals of Innisfallen*, under the year 1178, it is recorded that after a defeat by the Dalcassians "the race of

⁸ It was held in Cork; the Inquisition on O'Driscoll was held in Rosscarbery, where evidence about his affairs was easily procurable.

⁹ See "Book of Survey and Distribution" (1657), and the names of some of the settlers in Smith.

Eoghan Mor took refuge in the woods of Ivagha." A statement by the author of that compilation may require confirmation, but such confirmation is forthcoming from the topography of the country, which has been rightly called "the most enduring of all records." No¹⁰ less than fourteen place-names in the peninsula are derived from "Doire," the oak, as, e.g., Derrynatra, Derrycarhoon, Derrylahard, &c. And it may reasonably be supposed that woods existed in other localities that derived their names from some other circumstances, the personal name of a proprietor, the proximity of a rath, or a historic event, as, e.g., Lissycaha (the fort of the battle). In places that are now wind-swept and cold, the ancient woods not only afforded shelter for pasturage, but supplied mast and acorn for the rearing of swine—the most important food-producing industry among the Anglo-Saxons as well as among the Irish. "Forests abounded everywhere, and animals were simply turned out and fed on mast, &c. Wealthy people, chiefs and even kings, as well as rich farmers, kept great herds, which cost little or nothing beyond the pay of the swineherd" (Joyce, *Social Hist. of Ancient Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 279). See the extract already quoted from Robert Payne's account of Kinelmeky. Names compounded with "Doire" do not imply that woods consisted solely of oak trees; hazel trees were often, perhaps generally, intermixed, as is suggested by some passages in ancient tales, as, e.g., "Doire-na-nath in which fair-nutted hazels grow." Hazel nuts were such an important article of food that plentiful nut-harvests were thought worthy of being recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters*. The Bard O'Heerin, who died in A.D. 1420 and made his circuit through the South about A.D. 1400, alludes to the food-producing woods of Ivagha:—

"Uí Eadac iarrtair Banba
 Dúctair moir Uí Matghaimhna,
 Fionclaó tairlinn naé fan Fonn,
 Ar fairsinn an clár eno-donn."

Dr. O'Donovan's translation.

"Uí Eachach of the west of Banba (Ireland)
 Is the great patrimony of O'Mahouna;
 Land of fair mounds, irriguous not undulating,
 Extensive is that plain of brown nuts."

The means of subsistence were, in all probability, greater in Ivagha in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, down to the commencement of the Desmond war, than they were three centuries after. The direct and indirect losses from the destruction of the woods were, assuredly, not compensated for, in that part of the country, by the adoption of any improved system of agriculture in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Accordingly the population must have been much larger in the former centuries. In 1831, according to the census of that year, the population of the peninsula of Schull and Kilmoe was twenty-two thousand (*Lewis's Topographical Dictionary*).

What may have been the fighting strength of the undivided clan in

¹⁰ The late Canon Lyons called attention to this circumstance in his article on Place-Names in this "Journal" (vol. ii., year 1893).

A.D. 1172, or of the Western Branch, about a century later, when it possessed nearly all the Fonn-Iartharach, we have no means of even conjecturing. But there is extant Carew's estimate of the forces of the Ivagha sept in its reduced condition in the Tudor period, and of the other neighbouring septs. There are other estimates besides Carew's, but they are valueless, being made by persons who had no source of information except hearsay, whereas Carew is known to have been exceedingly well served by his numerous, specially appointed, spies.

The following is Carew's list¹¹ of the forces of West Cork and the adjoining district of Kerry :—

			Horse.	Kerne
O'Mahon of Ivagha	}	26	120
O'Mahon of Brin, i.e., of Rossbrin Castle	...		46	100
O'Sullivan, Beare, and Bantry		10	200
O'Driscolls of Collimore and Baltimore		6	200
O'Donoghue Mor (Lough Lene)		12	200
O'Donovan		6	60

O'Mahon was Chieftain of the entire of Ivagha, which included Rossbrin, but the very considerable contingent of his cousin and subordinate of Rossbrin Castle is mentioned separately, for a reason that will be given later on. Carew always speaks of O'Mahon Fionn as the sole Chief, whose forces, therefore, were seventy-two horse and two hundred and twenty kerne.

As each horseman had one Daltin or Gilla, in the earlier times, and two in the later period (Joyce's *Social Hist.*, i., p. 146), one hundred and forty should be added in order to express the total of O'Mahon Fionn's forces. The number of horsemen in Ivagha (72) must be regarded as relatively large, if we bear in mind that (according to Carew) the English cavalry in Munster amounted only to five hundred, and that the contingents of MacCarthy Reagh and MacCarthy More, in their own tribelands, were sixty and forty respectively, though each had a multitude of kernes.

The peninsula of Ivagha was defended by an exceptionally large number of castles. Many of these were built on headlands, the sites of prehistoric Forts. Promontory Forts were a conspicuous feature of the west and south coast from Duncearmna, on the Old Head of Kinsale, and Dundeedy (Galley Head), to Dunlogha, Dunmanus, Dunamark, &c. It is singular that they were all called Duns, not Rathes. They served as look-out stations as well as strongholds in which the inhabitants of the coasts could take refuge. From the dawn of Irish history down to the middle of the seventeenth century, sea rovers were the terror and the scourge of the maritime districts. The ancient tale, *Cath Finn Tragha*, or the "Battle of Ventry," mentions the stations along the coasts where watchmen were placed to signal the approach of an unexpected invader. Though narrating fictitious events, the tale is to a certain extent historical, as the author, like the authors of the most ancient poems and tales in all countries, unconsciously reproduces the customs of his own time and locality. The Dun had begun (not however in Munster) to be

¹¹ The list is taken from Mr. McCarthy Glas's "Life of Florence MacCarthy Mor," p. 9.

superseded by the castle¹² in the century preceding the Norman Invasion. From the first quarter of the 13th century it must have become evident to the Irish that the Dun should without delay be discarded for the castle, the most effective protection against sea rover and land-plunderer. They must have been impressed by the systematic way in which the Norman adventurers built castles¹³ to secure the advantages they had gained. They must have known, too, that "for want of castles the attempts of the Anglo-Saxons to revolt against their Norman masters were easily quelled" (Hallam's *Hist. of Europe*, quoting Orderic Vitalis).

It was during the Chieftainship of Donogh na Himerce O'Mahon (ob. 1212), not long after the Invasion, and before the Division of the Sept, that the first castle was built in the "Western Land." The original *Annals of Innisfallen* have under the year 1207 the entry: "The Castle of Dunlochy was built." This passage is quoted from Duaid Mac Firbis's English translation, as the edition of the Bodleian original by Dr. O'Connor ends at A.D. 1196. "Dunlochy" certainly stands for 'Dun a' locha, an ancient Dun that took its name from the adjacent lake,¹⁴ and was situate at the end of the promontory now known as Three Castle Head. On this site were built three square towers, at a short distance from one another, which, being connected by a wall that also enclosed the lake, may be considered as one castle. For want of a photograph, an imperfect sketch of this ruined castle is here reproduced, which some West Cork Antiquary sent to Windele in 1840 (Windele's Papers, Cork, Topography, R. I. Academy). The name Dunlough still survives as the name of the townland which includes Three Castle Head. A writer in *Bolster's Magazine* in 1827, and Windele's correspondent (above mentioned) state that many legendary tales are related of the castle, and that "the Lake was supposed to be haunted by an enchanted woman, whom Kean Mahony had seen and then died; whoever saw her died soon after." The picturesque and lonely situation of the castle and its great antiquity had set the imagination of the country folk to work.

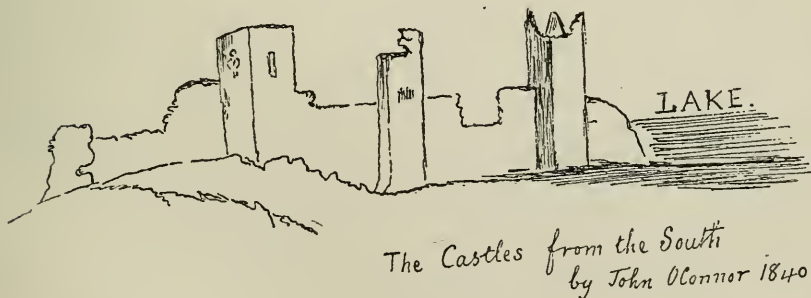
Near the eastern point of Schull Harbour, and about a quarter of a mile from the western shore of Lough Trasnagh (Roaringwater Bay) was erected the Castle of Ardiñtennane, the principal seat of the Chieftain of

¹² References to "Annals Four M." are given in a previous footnote. See Ware's "Antiquities," p. 134, about Turlough O'Connor's Castle in Tuam, "the wonderful Castle," in 1161.

¹³ See the list given by O'Donovan, note to "Annals Four M.," years 1215 and 1261. In the small County of Carlow, the key of the Pale, the English had built 148 castles before the time of Henry V., as is stated in a letter to that king from the Dublin Parliament. It might be expected that the great number of castles built by the O'Mahonys of Ivagha would be regarded as evidence of the resources and the foresight of the Sept. The strange comment of Professor W. F. Butler in his "Notes on Carbery" ("Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal") is that "they had a perfect mania for building castles." In keeping with this curious comment is the statement of the same writer that "the most important Sept in West Cork was a Sept that, admittedly, had the smallest force, the fewest Castles, and the most barren territory. (Inquisition in Appendix to "Annals Four M.")

¹⁴ The compilers of the Dublin "Annals of Innisfallen" misunderstood the original Annalist when they added to his entry—"built by the English." They evidently took Dunlochy to be Dunloe in Kerry, built by the English in 1215 (O'Donovan). But (1) Dunloe in Irish is Dunloich ("Annals F. M.," 1570), which is now pronounced by Irish speakers exactly as the English name; (2) Dunloe Castle would not derive a name from a lake a mile distant. A local name would be more likely to be given to it from the river Laune, on whose bank it stands.

Ivagha. Its site, like that of Castle Lac, Caherdrinny, Shanid Castle, and others of the 13th century, is an ancient Rath, whose inner rampart was replaced by a curtain wall; in this there appear to have been flanking towers, one only of which now remains. The wall has been almost com-



pletely destroyed, but the Castle, now commonly called White Castle, is in a fairly good state of preservation. It is a solid square keep, whose walls are about six feet thick, and as in other castles of its early period, the entrance to the staircase leading to the upper rooms is from the outside, over the door on the ground level, which opens into a high vaulted basement. The name of the Castle not being found in any southern

Irish MS., has been the crux of our etymologists, who assume the accuracy of some one of the forms in which the word is spelled in various Inquisitions and other State Papers—"Ardintennane," "Ardintynan," &c. In the *Annals of Loch Cé*, under the year 1473, the name is spelled Δρῶ ἀν τεννᾶιτ, which is easily explained by the Editor as the "Height of the beacon," τεννᾶιτ being the regularly altered form of τενροᾶιτ, the old Irish term for beacon used in the tale "Bruden da Derga." But then, Northern Annalists are sometimes inexact in the spelling of Southern names, and it is hard to suppose that several persons, on different occasions, would agree in giving "Tennán" as the phonetic rendering of "Tennál." "Rem in medio relinquam."

Two miles from the Chieftain's residence, on the same side of the bay and "opposite Horse Island is the ruin of the Castle of Rosbrin, which belonged to O'Mahony, being boldly built on a rock which hangs over the ocean." So far Smith's description is quite correct, but he goes on to say that (on an allegation which shall be considered presently) "Sir Geo. Carew demolished it and battered its west wall to the ground." The fact is that Carew never attacked the Castle, and that the west wall was not battered down but stands erect, and the building might be regarded as in a good state of preservation until five years ago, when a considerable portion of the east wall was thrown down by lightning.

On returning from Rosbrin we pass by Castle Island, the Irish name for which¹⁵ was Mawninish, i.e., Middle Island, a name which describes its position. Here are the remains of another Castle. Smith's description of the two next may be adopted: "I proceeded west to Leamcon . . . near a good harbour, between Long Island and the continent. Here are two Castles built by the Mahonys in ruins. The larger is called [Leamcon, otherwise] Black Castle, built on an island to which is a very narrow passage easily defensible, and more to the west is Ballydevlin, another old seat of the Mahonys." Leamcon Castle cannot be said to be "in ruins," except in the sense of being unroofed, as its walls are perfect, though, for about two or three feet above the foundation, they bear evidence of having been attacked by means of the besieging instrument called¹⁶ "the Sow." Ballydevlin¹⁷ is described in the (six-inch) Ordnance Survey map as "Castle in ruins," but it would seem to have been as complete as Leamcon in 1844, when the author of *Sketches in the South of Ireland* wrote: "Look at the Black Castle out there, like a solitary watching all day long its prey on its rock-perch. And westward still, see the bold and high Ballydevlin; see how it cuts the clear blue sky with its embattled loftiness"—and he adds a boatman's legendary tale about this Castle, which is refuted by historical documents.

Near Crookhaven the ordnance map marks in the townland of Lisagriffin, "Castle in ruins," and in the townland of Castle Mehigan, "Castle"; about the latter something will be said later on. To quote Smith again: "Then comes Dunmanus Bay, which has its name from

¹⁵ Statement of an old man named Leahy, an Irish speaker, who was born in the island.

¹⁶ See, for an account of this machine, "Miscellany of Celtic Soc.," 1849, and O'Sullivan Beare ("Hist. Cath."), who quaintly calls it Muc-us Bellicus!

¹⁷ Recte Bealdwylin (as in Inquisitions), the "mouth of the flood," as being exposed to the south-west waves.

Dunmanus Castle, erected on the east bank thereof by that Sept (O'Mahonys), and was fortified by walls and flankers. Towards the bottom of the bay is Dunbeacon, another Castle of the Mahonys." Dunmanus Castle, built on the site of an old Dun, on the shore of Dunmanus Harbour, was the most recent, the largest, and the best constructed of the Ivagha castles. It is in a very fair state of preservation, but the curtain walls and the flanking towers seen by Smith have disappeared.

On the opposite side of Dunmanus Harbour, in the townland of Knockeens, another site of a castle is marked in the ordnance map.

Dunbeacon Castle, which bears the name of a Dun (not The Doona), about a quarter of a mile to the north, was the nearest to the head of Dunmanus Bay. It still exists, but in a ruinous condition. Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* (s.v. Kilmoe) states that there are remains of a castle "on the shore of the Lake of Dunkelly."

The twelve Castles mentioned by Cox in his *Carberiæ Notitia* (and *Regnum Corcagiense*) have now been enumerated. If to this number be added the two in Kinelmeky, it will be seen that the two branches of the O'Mahony race held exactly one-fourth of the fifty-six castles erected, according to Windele, by the native septs in the Co. Cork.

The Castles in Ivagha were all of the antique type, intended to afford security rather than comfort. In none of them was the staircase accessible from the door at the ground level, as in the more recent Castles in Muskerry, which approximate to the type of the fortified house. We learn from Stanihurst¹⁸ that in the vicinity of Irish Castles there were provided residences of a more commodious kind, but of less durable structure and materials, so that seldom can traces of them be found. There is not, for instance, a trace of the "hall with orchard and grove adjoining one of O'Driscoll's Castles," in 1537, which would not be heard of in our time if that Chieftain had no feud with the citizens of Waterford, or if they preserved no MS. record of it.

This is a suitable occasion for briefly examining the charge of piracy and wrecking that has been often made against the western tribes by some prejudiced or ill-informed writers. The crushing reply to this charge is that for centuries vessels from Spain, Portugal, France, and Belgium came annually to the west coast of the County Cork to trade and to fish.¹⁹ They would not come habitually to ports that were in the occupation of pirates and wreckers. The Chieftains who, as we have seen, obtained a large income from harbour dues, and appreciated the opportunity of obtaining powder, arms, and other necessities by trading with the foreigners, would assuredly not deter them, or allow them to be deterred, from entering their ports. This is no mere conjecture. More generally than any others, the O'Driscolls have been accused of inveterate piracy, chiefly on the ex-parte evidence of some MSS., written in Water-

¹⁸ Cum quibus (Castellis) aulae satis magnae et amplae . . . in istis aulis epulari solent, raro tamen somnium nisi in castellis capiunt (p. 219). . . . Coenitant autem magnifice et opipare (p. 221). "Hiberniæ Descriptio," Leyden, 1627.

¹⁹ Fretum circumjacens piscibus scatens Hispanos. Gallos, Belgas, piscatores accit. (O'S. Beare, "Hist. Cath.," i. 6.). . . Celebre est Evaugh (Ivagha) promontorium quod inter Bantre et Baltimore, &c.; quo numerosa quotannis Hispanorum et Lusitanorum classis, ipso brumali solstitio, ad piscandos etiam asellos confluit." Camden from the Elzevir "Res publica Hiberniæ." From a State paper of 1569 it appears that six hundred Spanish vessels set sail that year for the Irish Fisheries.

ford, recording a chronic feud between them and that English colony. Now, in 1551, the O'Driscoll Chief exercised his ancient tribal jurisdiction by ordering the execution of eleven men, including three of his own clansmen, for piracy. This assumption of authority the Lord Deputy, of the time, was not strong enough to punish, but he saved appearances by sending "a pardon for the murder" of the men named in the Fiat, "being pirates" (Calend. P. R., p. 247). Dermot O'Sullivan Beare (ob. 1549) exacted a large ransom for the liberation of certain English pirates (Gibson, *Hist. of Cork*, i., p. 170). On one occasion, as his grandson Philip relates, he seized and hanged the Captain of an English vessel fitted up as a ship of war, who was attacking the Spanish trading and fishing vessels at the mouth of Berehaven harbour. No doubt, this was reported to the English Government as an instance of O'Sullivan's piracy. We may safely infer that a similar interest in the protection of foreign vessels must have induced O'Mahony of Ivagha to repress pirates, as his neighbours did, though he may not have gone so far as to put them to death; and thus the State Papers would contain no record of his action. It is literally true that there is not a single contemporary document which makes a charge of piracy, or of aiding or abetting piracy, against the Chieftain of Ivagha or against any of his Sept, with one solitary exception, the owner of Rosbrin Castle in 1562. The question whether the English vessel which Donald Mac Conogher O'M. attempted unsuccessfully to seize was an innocent merchantman or one of the predatory kind that O'Sullivan dealt with, will be considered later on; for the present it is enough to say that the judgment pronounced against him was that of "the port pirates and piratical mayors and Council men" (as Mr. Gibson calls them) of the City of Cork about that period. It has been contended by some that the position of several of the Castles of Ivagha implied that they were built for the purpose of piracy. This is a futile argument. A fort near a harbour or cove was necessary to secure the payment of the harbour dues, and to store the dues when paid, as they usually were, in kind. Smith relates that "King Edward the Sixth in 1552 was advised by his Parliament to build a Fort at Baltimore to oblige foreign fishermen to pay tribute" (*Hist. of Cork*, bk. ii., ch. 2).²⁰

After the Septs were extinguished, the people of the South and West coasts, no longer restrained by the controlling hand of a Chieftain, may have lapsed for a time (until England's rule was better established) into the practices which are unwarrantably attributed to their predecessors who had lived under the Tribal system.

After this topographical and general account of Ivagha, we shall proceed to set forth the succession of the Chieftains and the events connected with them down to the extinction of the Sept.

The opinion which has been already expressed (*supra*, Part iv. p. 71) that Dermot Mor, for some time Head of the undivided Sept, became the first Chieftain of the Western, separated, portion of it, may be further confirmed by the fact that the western tribal genealogist (Irish MS., 23;

²⁰ Mrs. Green, in her recently published "Making and Unmaking of Ireland," pp. 137-140, gives proofs of the systematic attempt made in the 15th and 16th centuries to prevent foreign vessels from trading with the Irish, and shows that about 1540-1570 the southern coasts were infested by a large number of English pirates,

H. i.e. R.I.Acad.) prefixed to the entire series of Ivagha Chiefs the designation "Clann Diarmada." "Clan Tadhg" would, surely, be the designation chosen if his son was the first of the Western line, and thus made an epoch in the tribal history. The official appellation of each of this line of Chieftains was "Lord of Fonn Iartharach" (*Annals of Four Masters* and of *Loch Cé*). The original extent of the district from which they derived their appellation has been already described. Dermot, however, did not possess this ancient district of his tribe in its integrity. From it had been detached Kilmoccommogue,²¹ in the heart of which the Marquis Carew had built his Castle of Dunamark, in 1215. Possibly, too, Caheragh, during the contests with Donal Got McCarthy²² and his son, Fineen, "of Ringrone," had been encroached on (as it certainly was in the course of the next century); of this, however, there is no evidence. But he still preserved not only the peninsula ending in the Mizen Head, and containing the parishes of Schull and Kilmoe, but also that which then was called (as it is now) Muintervary, and comprised the parishes of Durrus and Kilcrohane. The larger portion of this latter region was bestowed by Dermot Mor on a branch of the bardic family of O'Daly. A well-endowed hereditary family of Bards was considered to be an indispensable appendage of every considerable Chieftain's establishment. Cox, who consulted Irish Antiquaries (as he more than once asserts), when composing his "Carberiae Notitia" and "Regnum Corcagiense," writes:—"The territory of Muintervary was, according to Irish custom, given to O'Daly, who was successively Bard to O'Mahon and to Carew." This plainly implies that the family of O'Daly that settled in the West were originally bards of the O'Mahons,²³ and received from them an endowment in the land mentioned. The fact that some²⁴ O'Dalys were afterwards found to be bards to Carew, during the comparatively short period that the Carews flourished in West Cork, would by no means prove that the heads of that branch detached themselves from the Chief who had endowed them with their land. The O'Dalys continued to hold the land assigned to them down to 1641. They

²¹ This district includes Bantry. There may be something in Smith's derivation of that name from "Beant Mac Fariola (recte Fearchealla), a descendant of the O'Donovans and O'Mahonys," notwithstanding the clumsy conclusion of his sentence. His informant probably told him that Beant was of Eoghanacht origin, like the two clans mentioned. In a note on the genealogy of the O'Mahonys in the "Book of Munster," Duaid Mac Firbis traces Fearceall to Corc, King of Munster, as follows:—"Fearcheall mac Cínfaola, mic Aodha-Finn, mic Criomthan, mic Cobthaigh, mic Duach, mic Cairbre, mic Cuirc, mic Luighdach." Here it may be noted as significant, that there was an ancient parish of Duach in the district known as Uí Cairbre (Carbery). The majority, however, of this Cairbre's race settled in Kerry. Beantraighe would mean descendants of Beant, as Ciarraighe the descendants of Ciar, Muscraighe, the race of Musc, &c. The Beantraigh in Wexford may have been a different race, as the Uí Eachach Uladh were of a different origin from their southern namesakes.

²² Canon Lyons ("Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal," 1894) conjectured that the contest with Donal Got McCarthy "took place at Cahir (near Ballincen) called *Cairt na g-cnaim*." The conjecture is unfounded. The scene of the combat is called in Carew's Lambeth pedigree of the O'M., Carrigdurtheacht—wherever that may be. The name of the Cahir fort is probably prehistoric. It is incredible that in the 13th century the bodies of the slain were allowed to remain unburied, and that their whitened bones gave a name to a place.

²³ See also Smith, p. 18, new Ed.

²⁴ The Head of the O'Daly Clan was a Chieftain in Westmeath. "There was no family," says O'Donovan, "to which the Bardic Literature of Ireland is more indebted." A branch settled in Munster in the twelfth century.

built a castle, and the Ordnance Map shows, besides, a ruin named "O'Daly's Bardic School." How long they continued to perform their original functions of Bards and Chroniclers for the Chieftains of Ivagha cannot now be known. Another portion of Muintervary²⁵ was given to the O'Glavins, "stewards or termors of the O'Mahons." The name of this ancient family is preserved in the place-name Carran Ui Glavine, near the Mizen Head, which was their original habitat. But the entire of Muintervary was not made over to O'Daly and O'Glavin. The Chieftain's relatives retained a considerable portion. At the time of the Confiscation of 1641, we find in the "Book of Survey and Distribution" (1657) that "Dermod O'Mahony, Irish Papist," was dispossessed of more than a thousand acres in Kilcrohane. In process of time, if not from the beginning of the new chieftaincy, the western O'Mahony employed another Bardic family, that of O'Mehigan,²⁶ and endowed them with some three hundred acres of land in Kilmoe (as appears from the Inquisition of Dermod O'Mehigan taken in 1623), and with the wardership of a castle—Castle Mehigan—built by the Chieftain, as, of course, it could not have been built from their own limited resources. As the names O'Glavin and Mehigan are not in the "Genealogy of Corcalaidhe," those families were, in all probability, branches of the old Ui Eachach tribe in the West.

We have already (Part i. *supra*) dealt with the fiction that it was from Carew that the first Head of the Western Sept obtained "the lordship of Ivagha"—which, as has been amply proved, he derived from a long line of ancestors, commencing with Cas, son of Corc, in the fifth century. It may be interesting to trace the genesis of the "Herald Office" fable, which well exemplifies that of the "Three Black Crows." In a MS. now in the Lambeth Library, Sir George Carew had written, doubtless from his family archives,²⁷ that "Dermod O'Mahon married the daughter of the Marquis Carew, and had with her Innisfodda (Long Island) and Callow-Chrage (a ploughland) near Skull-Haven"—lands which belonged to Dermod's territory, and which Carew restored in this manner. This very limited statement in the Carew archives is found in Camden's *Britannia* (1586) expanded into the declaration that "the O'Mahons got ample estates in the promontory of Ivagha through the kindness and favour of Marquis Carew."²⁸ The "Herald Office" in 1600 (quoted in new ed. of Smith's *Cork*) improved on Camden, as follows:—"And he (Carew) did make O'Mahon lord of Ivagha," adding that "the O'Mahons do confess that they hold from Carew." The writer of this stuff was in a state of equal ignorance as to the early history of the O'Mahons and the history of the Carews in West

²⁵ Muintervary is not, as has been conjectured, Tuovintirrydorke in McCarthy Reagh's Inquisition. The Muinter Doirc were a Corcalaidhe family who gave name to another district.

²⁶ Eoin Masach O'Mehigan was a wandering member of this family and the author of an elegy on O'Driscoll's son, given in the *Miscell. Celtic Society*, 1849.

²⁷ He thus corrects the Lambeth pedigree, which erroneously says that Dermod married the daughter of McCarthy Reagh. Carew also says that Dermod's widow married "Donal Cham from whom the branch of McCarthy Reagh." This McCarthy cannot be identified. Mr. McCarthy Glas thinks that Donal Caomh was meant (1311-1320), but Carew always spells phonetically, and "Cam" is not Caomh; besides, Donal Caomh was a contemporary of Dermod's great-grandson, Dermod More II.

²⁸ In hoc promontorio, Evaugh, O'Mahoni ampla prædia beneficentia M. Carew acceperunt. *Camdeni Britannia*, 1586.



DUNMANUS CASTLE.



ARDINTENNANE CASTLE.

Cork. In the general uprising of the Irish of South Munster, consequent on the victory at Callan near Kenmare, and some other battles afterwards, Carew's Castle of Dunamark was burned and his power destroyed, the same fate befalling Arundel, Sliney and other adventurers.²⁹ There is not a trace of a Carew discoverable in West Cork in 1300. Sir Peter Carew, in the statement of his case in 1567 (Smith's *Cork*, new Ed.), candidly admitted that "they were by the Civil Wars *expulsed*," referring to the battles above mentioned. He does not say that they "withdrew to take part in the Wars of the Roses," the fiction by which colonists in 1450³⁰ sought to explain the decay of the English interest in the Co. Cork. The lands of the Carews were, says Sir Peter, "occupied by others who do now claim the same for their inheritance"—instead of admitting that they held from the "expulsed" Carews, as the Herald Office writer³¹ pretended. The fact is,³² that the existence of the Carews in West Cork had been forgotten or was known only to antiquaries, when Sir Peter Carew came over from England in 1567 with "a forged roll," as O'Donovan says, to put forward his preposterous claim, founded on the Charter³³ of Henry II., empowering Fitzstephen to plunder the Irish Septs. This "claim" and the attitude of the Irish Chiefs with regard to it have been discussed in a previous page.

Dermot Mor (whose father died in 1212) must have been advanced in years when he took up his new position about 1260, and possibly died not long after. He had four sons, Macraith (killed in battle, 1254), Tadhg Ricard (called after his Norman grandfather, Richard De Carew), and Donal (Irish MS. H. 23, i.e., R.I. Acad.). Of the two latter nothing is known.

Tadhg succeeded to the Chieftaincy. By Tanist Law he was preferred

²⁹ Dr. O'Donovan writes in a note to "Annals F. Masters," 1261:—"After this signal defeat of the English, Finéen of Ringrone and the Irish Chieftains of South Munster burned and levelled the Castles of Dun Mic Tomain, Dunnagall, Dunnalong, Dunnamark, etc., and killed their English warders." O'Driscoll repaired and retained Dunnalong and Dunnagall.

³⁰ See Letter of the Citizens of Cork to Lord Deputy Rutland, 1450, quoted in a former note.

³¹ His document has been gravely quoted as a historical authority in "Notes on Carbery" in C. H. & A. "Journal." See a fuller refutation of it in a former footnote.

³² A curious reminiscence of the Marquis Carew was unconsciously preserved near Bearhaven by people who knew nothing about him. Canon Lyons writes in "Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal," 1893, p. 265:—"A curse in common use in Berehaven is *Cor 'oe talam mc marcuis cu'at* 'may you have a plot of Mac Marcus's land.' He adds: 'Mac Marcus was some cruel middle landlord.' I have no doubt that he is mistaken in this interpretation, and that the imprecation, when first used seven centuries ago, meant, 'May you have a plot of land from the Marquis's son,' who was probably a byword for cruelty.

³³ Henry the Eighth affected to be more conscientious than his predecessor, Henry II., for in 1536 he proposed for discussion to his Council, as a dubious question, whether he could dispose of all the lands of Ireland. But there is reason to call in question the authenticity of the oft-quoted Charter of Henry II., which bears no date. In 1207, John, certainly, treated it as non-existent, without a protest from anyone. He gave a grant to Philip De Prendergast of 40 knights' fees between Cork and Innishannon—a portion of the "Kingdom of Cork" already given away by Henry's Charter, if genuine. So also he gave to Richard De Cogan the district of "Musgry O'Millane," to hold in fee, &c. Milo de Cogan's heirs would not apply for that grant if they already had a right by Henry's Charter to half the county; they would be admitting the nullity of the alleged Charter. Nor could they, without evoking a protest, have applied for a grant of any of Fitzstephen's portion. The "Charter of Henry II." must have been forged after the death of John, and the City of Cork excluded from the grant of the "Kingdom of Cork," as the citizens would be sure to inquire into the validity of the document if it affected themselves.

to his nephew, Fineen, son of the eldest brother, Macraith, ancestor of the Clan Fineen O'M., whose history has been given.

Tadhg was succeeded by his son, Donogh an Ratha Dreoàin,³⁴ so called from the Rath in which he lived before he became Chief. The Fort is marked in the Ordnance Map in the townland, now called Rathruane, a corrupted form of Rathdreoàin, near Ballydehob. It is referred to by Lewis (*Topogr. Dictionary*, s.v. Schull):—"At Rathrovane is a fort surrounded by a mound of earth and strengthened by a massive stone wall firmly built without mortar." Donogh left two sons, Dermot and Tadhg.

Dermot, known as Dermot Mor II., succeeded his father as the fourth Lord of Ivagha. The aggression of the Mac Carthy Reaghs, during the latter half of the 13th century, on the three western tribes was not met by them with combined action, and Dr. O'Donovan thinks that the aggression was completely successful about 1290, and that all three consented to pay tribute. This opinion, however, is not correct. The Chieftains of Ivagha continued to resist for a longer time. This is to be inferred from an entry in the *Annals of Munster* under the year 1319, which states that a force of the McCarthys, under the command of "the sons of Finin McCarthy (presumably the nephews of Donal Caomh McC. Reagh), came in their long boats to Beara to the island of Creagaire (Beare Island) to besiege Dermot Mor and his brother,³⁵ and continued there for five weeks," that Fineen, eldest son of Dermot Mor, brought reinforcements from Ballyrisode, under difficulties, as the vessels of Ivagha appear to have been away on some expedition under the two other sons of Dermot (Donal and Dermot Og); that only one vessel was available; that when sufficient clansmen had been brought over by repeated journeys in the night, the skirmish commenced, with the result that two of Dermot's family and one of Fineen McCarthy's fell, with many followers on both sides; and finally, Donal and Dermot arrived with their ships, "and brought off their own party safely to the Carn" (the Mizen Head). This entry is very crudely written, and does not explain how the Chief of Ivagha happened to be in Beare Island and in possession of a place so strongly fortified that it withstood so long a siege. One thing seems clear, that the O'Sullivan clan, which is not referred to at all, had not at this date established itself in Beara. This opinion may appear to be refuted by the entry in the *Annals of the Four M.*, 1320, recording the erection of the Bantry monastery. But this entry is very question-

³⁴ So spelled by Duaid Mac Firbis in the "Book of Munster." In other MSS., Ratha Dreoðhain.

³⁵ Tadhg, called Tadhg an Oir, i.e., of the gold, from his wealth. He was the ancestor of the Ui Flon Luadh branch. (Genealogical Table No. III.) It was probably not himself, but his son, that left Ivagha and obtained from O'Mahon of Kinelmeky the territory of Ui Flon Luadh. O'Hart ("Irish Pedigrees") absurdly states, as if it were an unquestionable fact, that from this Teig "of the gold" came the family of Gould—known to be one of the old Cork City families of Danish descent.

The head of the Ui Flon Lua O'M. minor sept was attainted in 1602 for taking part in O'Neil's Insurrection. When writing the account of this family, we doubted this fact owing to D'Alton's mis-quotation. We have since found the evidence of the attainer in a Patent Roll of James I. (1605), of which the following is an abstract:—"Grant from the King to Sir Wm. Taaffe (in consideration of faithful services to Queen Elizabeth) of the entire territory of Ifflonlua (West), Muskerry, 28 carucates, the lands of Donal Mac Conogher O'Mahony, late of Ifflonlua, gentleman, for high treason attainted"—in the curious Law-Latin of the time, "pro alta proditiōne attinctus." D'Alton had confounded him with a namesake, "Donal Mac Conogher O'M.," of Rosbrin Castle, attainted by the Act of Parliament, 1584, for taking part in the Desmond Insurrection.

able. Ware, who had access to many Irish MS. authorities, ascribes the erection to a Dermot O'Sullivan, who died in 1466.³⁶

Dermot Mor II., in the Lambeth MS. above referred to, is described as "living in 1311," and we have just seen that he was alive in 1319,³⁷ when the incident at Beara took place. He is said to have died in the year A.D. 1327.³⁸ Before his death he arranged that "Rosbrin and eighteen ploughlands at its foot" should be given to his sons Donal and Dermot. He was succeeded by Fineen. The new Chieftain refused to carry out the provision made for his brothers by their deceased father. Thereupon Donal and Dermot decided to leave Ivagha. Dermot "went to Deasumhan (McCarthy Mor's country in Kerry) and received a hospitable welcome and a tract of land from McCarthy," who was doubtless well acquainted with his neighbour, the late Chieftain of Ivagha, and probably a relative. Donal, the elder of the two brothers, "went to Barrets country" (Barony of Barrets), then subject to MacCarthy Mor as overlord,³⁹ and most probably by MacCarthy's authority or desire, obtained all or some of the ploughlands of the parish of Kilnaglory. The tribal genealogists kept track of the descendants of the two refugee brothers, as may be seen (*supra*) in Genealogical Table No. iii., under the headings "O'Mahony of Kilnagluairé" and "O'Mahony of the Sliocht Dermot Og" (the Kerry Branch). From the historical MS. which vouches for the foregoing, it may be clearly inferred that Ardintennane and Rosbrin Castles were in existence in the time of Dermot Mor. The words "18 ploughlands at the foot of Rosbrin" mean, surely, "at the foot of" a castle not of another townland. And the castle would not have been intended by Dermot for the younger sons, if the Castle of Ardintennane were not in existence to serve as a residence for his successor in the Chieftaincy. Dunlogh Castle, or "Three Castles," whence the name of the south-western headland, had been previously built, as has been shown, on the site of an ancient Dun which guarded the neighbourhood of the Mizen Head, but this Castle would not be a sufficiently central residence for the Ruler of the Clan. Ardintennane and Rosbrin Castles may be considered to have been built not later than A.D. 1310.

Fineen, the fifth Lord of Ivagha, had when Tanist shown himself at the combat on Bear Island to be resourceful, brave and energetic; but of his career as Chieftain no particulars have been handed down. In the ancient tract called the Genealogy of Corcalaidhe (Ed. Dr. O'Donovan, 1849) we read that Donchadh, great-grandson of Gasconagh O'Driscoll (slain in battle by the English at Tralee, 1234), "had two sons, Macraith and Am-Iaibh, and Orlaith, daughter of O'Mahouna, was their mother." Fineen, son of Dermot Mor, must have been the O'Mahouna referred to. "Orlaith, i.e., golden princess, is now obsolete as the name of a female." (Dr. O'D.'s

³⁶ This historic Clan, forced by the invaders to leave its ancient tribeland near Clonmel in A.D. 1192, established itself in Kerry. But the Clan did not occupy Beara at that date, as Mr. J. M. Burke, B.L., has proved in the June number of "Ivernia," 1909.

³⁷ In the MS. of the "Munster Annals" in the R.I. Acad. the date was accidentally omitted, but in the MS. of that work used by the compiler of the Dublin "Annals of Innisfallen," who transcribes this entry, the date was 1319. The compiler arbitrarily altered the name "Donal" into "Cian."

³⁸ So states Sir William Betham in his account of the Kerry Branch of the O'M., but he does not mention his authority.

³⁹ See "Life of Florence MacCarthy," by Mr. Mac Carthy Glas, p. 33.

note.) He was succeeded by his son Donal, who was probably the Chieftain in 1381, when there occurred another aggression on the part of the McCathys. An entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the above year is as follows :—"Dermot MacCarthy, heir to the Lordship of Desmond, was slain by O'Mahony"; the Dublin *Innisfallen Annals* add, "of the Fonn Iartharach." This is not to be understood of as a murder or assassination; according to the usage of the Irish Annals, one chief is said to have fallen by another, when killed by his soldiers in battle;⁴⁰ if the former meaning were intended, some such words as "affil," by treachery, or "dolose," in the Latin entries, would have been added. If the entry refers (as it probably does) to the tanist of MacCarthy Mor, then it must be held that he was assisting McCarthy Reagh in his aggression; for there is no evidence or probability that there was any direct contest between MacCarthy More and the Clan of Ivagha. We are not told what was the result of the combat, but about this time, or not long after, McCarthy Reagh finally succeeded in obtaining tribute. As the tribute exacted was small in amount (about £30⁴¹)—small even when taking into account the altered value of money and commodities—the Clan, which would break out into insurrection against an exorbitant or oppressive amount, acquiesced in the payment of a moderate amount, as MacCarthy Reagh himself acquiesced in the annual payment of a tribute of a hundred beeves to the Earl of Desmond.

Donal was Chieftain in 1383. In that year originated the minor sept often referred to in the State papers, the Sliocht Teig O'Mahowne (Σλιοχτ Ταιγ Οὐ Μαχωννα). This is proved by a statement of the chief member of this sub-sept, in a Chancery Bill dated Nov. 11th, 1623. In that document it is set forth that "the plaintiff is Dermot O'Mahony of Skeaghmore, gentleman, great-grandson of Donogh Mac Dermot O'Mahony, who died owner of 22 ploughlands of Sliocht Teig O'Mahowne,⁴² in the Co. Cork. Plaintiff's ancestors have been in quiet possession of the lands for 240 years." We shall subsequently give details about this case against the all-grasping Lord Cork's representative, but for the present the document is adduced to fix a date. The Sliocht would, of course, be called after its first ancestor, through whom it branched off from the main line. Now, the names of the four sons of Donal's successor, Dermot, are recorded, and there was no Teig among them. We may infer that among the sons of Donal (about whom no particulars are recorded) there was one named Teig, to whom this extraordinary grant of about one-fifth of the whole tribeland was given. Though the members of this sub-sept were thus made exempt from head rent to chieftains, they would not, according to tribal custom, be exempt from other occasional dues, or from sending horsemen and kernes in time of war. The history of this minor sept has been hitherto misapprehended, as also was the position of its territory. It has been supposed to have been "South of Clan Teig Roe and West of

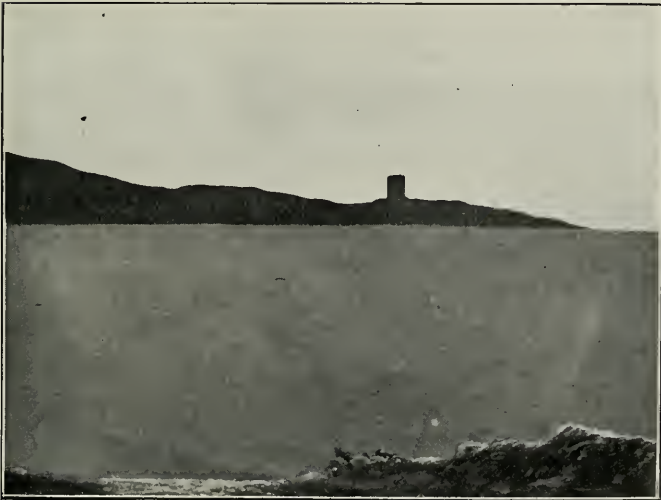
⁴⁰ The Four Masters would not have omitted the words "affil" or "Thre Feill" (through treachery) if they found the words in the ancient historical MSS. that they had before them. On the other hand, the compiler of the Dublin "Annals of Innisfallen," who inserted these words, was quite capable of introducing his own conjectures into ancient entries, as we have proved in No. 79, p. 127, supra.

⁴¹ Daniel McC. Reagh's Inquisition, 1636.

⁴² There were 36 ploughlands according to Carew; as only 22 were claimed by Dermot, 14 other ploughlands must have been partitioned among his kinsmen.



LEAMCON CASTLE ("BLACK CASTLE").



DISTANT VIEW OF LEAMCON CASTLE.

Clan Dermot"—altogether outside the peninsula which includes the parishes of Schull and Kilmoe. But this was not so. Belonging to the sub-sept there were, within the peninsula of Ivagha the following ploughlands:—Bawnashanaclogh, Shanavatowrie (now Shanava), Kilcoosane (now Coosane), Collagh (Colla), Scartineculleen, Bawnaknockane, Ballyrisode, Rathrovane (Rathruane), with Ardura and Ardglass, now in the parish of Kilcoe, but formerly in Schull, as can be proved from old wills in the Record Office. It is unnecessary to go through the troublesome task of identifying the remaining townlands, but a few words may be said on the question that has been raised⁴³—whether Glenbarahane, the land on which Castletownsend was built, was an outlying portion of this sub-sept's district, not continuous with the remainder. It is certainly true that Smith states that "on the banks of the river stands Castletownsend, but formerly Sleughteig" (by a misprint Sleughleig), and in the Down Survey no less than seven plots of land in the map of the parish of Castlehaven are said to be in the "Slioghteig" (sic). But in one of the observations accompanying the map we find "Sliocht Teig Mac Cargh"⁴⁴ (sic), and nowhere is the full name written "Sliocht teig O'Mahowne." There was a Sliocht Teig among the O'Driscolls. The one point that could be raised in favour of the opinion that Glenbarahane belonged to a sub-sept of the O'Mahonys is that it was anciently a parish in the Diocese of Cork, whose limits were those of the Ui Eachach tribeland, and may have continued in the possession of that tribe. See the enumeration of the Cork parishes in the Bull of Innocent III., A.D. 1199.

Donal died in some year about the close of the century, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Dermot. This Chieftain was known among his contemporaries by the honourable appellation of Dermot Runtach, "the reliable." This adjective underwent strange transformations in the Lambeth and Herald Office pedigrees.⁴⁵ The century 1400-1500, nearly covered by the lifetime of Dermot Runtach and of his sons, was the most peaceful and prosperous period in the history of the Western Sept. The generosity of Dermot, and the hospitality which he exercised at his residence, Ardintennane, are extolled by the Annalists in language similar to that in which the Bards celebrated the munificence of his ancestor, Cian, in the eleventh century. His second son, Donogh Mor, built, on a picturesque spot by Dunmanus Bay, the Castle of Dunmanus, the largest, and the best constructed of the Ivagha Castles, with six flanking towers. Local tradition preserved his name as "Donogh Ruadh," and the carved stone head, which is shown near the top of the west wall, is said to represent his features. Tradition also says that he commenced to build a castle at Knockeens, but did not persevere, finding that the site of the existing castle afforded a more secure foundation. Finin, the third son, and the

⁴³ This question was raised by Mrs. Dorothea Townshend in a paragraph in "Notes and Queries" in C. H. & A. "Journal," Oct.-Dec., 1906. She dwelt on the fact that "Glenbarahane" is said in the Down Survey to be in the Sliocht Teig, and (2) stated that "the relatives of the proscribed Teig O'Mahon claimed it in a long lawsuit." There was no "proscribed" Teig of that sub-sept at that time. The nature of the lawsuit will be stated later on. There is no proof that Glenbarahane was claimed in that lawsuit.

⁴⁴ Perhaps Karragh, which was an O'Driscoll praenomen.

⁴⁵ The statements of those documents for the period 1014-1400 are quite erroneous. For the period after the latter date they are often confirmed by Irish MSS., and, accordingly, some of the information they contain is made use of in this and the following pages.

most celebrated member of the family, obtained Rosbrin Castle, with nine and a half ploughlands. It has been already shown that Rosbrin was not built by him, but by an ancestor a hundred years before his time. Dunbeacon Castle was built for, or by, the fourth son, Donal, who had with it four ploughlands. His issue soon became extinct and a subsequent O'Mahon, using the inherent right of a Chief, bestowed it on his own son Finin of Cruachán (Crookhaven). The entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters* about Dermot Runtach is as follows:—"A.D. 1427, Dermot O'Mahon, Lord of Fonn Iartharach (Western Land), a truly hospitable man who never refused to give anything to anyone, died after the victory of penance"—the latter phrase being the usual one to denote a religious death. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Connor (Concobar). This Chieftain received a sobriquet—almost inevitable in those times—the appellation Cabaicc⁴⁶ "of the exaction," perhaps from a severe tax imposed for castle-building. The name has been absurdly translated "the hostage." In the Lambeth document he is called Connor Kittoch, "the left-handed." He married the daughter of O'Dowda of Connacht (a powerful Chief, in whose territory there were twenty-four castles), and he had four sons. For the second of these, Finin Caol (the slender), he is said to have built Leamcon, called also Black Castle. It is now erroneously called "Castle Point" by the people of that locality, but educated persons among them are aware of the real name. The Down Survey notes:—"Near Leamcon Castle is a fair stone house with an orchard." The posterity of Finin Caol does not seem to have died out, as there is in the Co. Cork still a family known as "Mahony Caol."

The following entry regarding Concobar (Cabach) is found in the *Annals of Loch Cé* (Kê):—"O'Mahon of the Western Land, i.e., Concobar, son of Dermot, son of Donal, son of Finin, son of Dermot Mór, died, after penance, in his own Castle of Ard an Tennail, A.D. 1473."

Donogh Mor of Dunmanus, who had been Tanist since his brother's succession in 1427, now obtained the Chieftaincy in conformity with the established law, and his brother, Finin of Rosbrin Castle, became Tanist. In the preface of Finin's Translation of Mandeville (of which more later on) is a list of contemporary Chiefs, among whom we read of "Donogh, son of Dermot, son of Donal, son of Finin O'Mahon, and Donal and his brethren, over the Ui Eachach"—the ancient tribe-name of the Sept. Donal, who (with "his brethren") is mentioned after Donogh Mor, was the O'Mahon of Carbery (Kinelmeky), the head of the other branch of the Clan. Donogh and Donal are mentioned also as two contemporary heads of their septs in the *Book of Munster*, p. 636. Donogh Mor died about five years afterwards, as will be shown presently.

On the death of Donogh Mór, his brother Finin, of Rosbrin Castle, succeeded to the Chieftaincy. The tenth Lord of Ivagha had spent his years at Rosbrin in pursuits very different from those which usually engrossed the minds of Irish Chieftains and Anglo-Irish Lords. He devoted himself to the study of books, and acquired the reputation of being the most learned man of his time in Ireland. A knowledge of Latin he had an opportunity of acquiring in his youth at the "Schola S. Mariae," situate at about the distance of one mile from his birthplace, Ardintennane Castle, on the

⁴⁶ Cabac (genitive Cabaicc) meant also "a talker," or "of the cape" (caba).

opposite side of Schull Harbour. Most Irish Chieftains of that period possessed an acquaintance with Latin,⁴⁷ sufficient for conversing with foreigners, but falling far short of the extensive knowledge of the language ascribed to Finin by his contemporaries. The English language, not taught in any Irish school, he acquired in maturer years, induced solely by a scholar's love of learning and for the sake of the literature. That language would not at that time be valued by him as a means of communicating with the Dublin officials of the English Kings, whose power was at a low ebb in Ireland in the fifteenth century, and was not felt at all in remote Ivagha. The following are the testimonies regarding Finin's attainments in the contemporary records:—The Annals of Loch Ce, the Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan, Co. Roscommon:—*O Mactáma an fúin Iar-tairis, i.e., Fingih, feiceam coitcheann daonnaicta asur oimh iartair Mumán asur an fear fa tpeirde alaitin asur a mbeurla a comairir fúir do tul d'és an bliaduan A.D. 1496*—which the Editor, Mr. Hennessy, translates as follows:—"O'Mahouna of the Western Land, Finin, general supporter of the hospitality and humanity of West Munster, and the most learned man of his time in Latin and English, died in 1496."

The "Annals of Ulster," under the year 1496:—"Fingih O Mactáma do és in bliadain ri eter dá noitlaig, nó pechtúim ie noitlaig, roon, fer tuigread tpeirec, ealadnac asur eolac i rseulais in roimain toir asur abur"—which Dr. MacCarthy, the Editor, translates:—"Finin O'Mahouna died this year between the two Nativities, or a week before Christmas, an intelligent, polished, erudite man, and learned in the history of the world in the East and hither"—an idiomatic phrase for "from end to end."

Both records were written by contemporaries. The Ulster Annalist died two years after he penned the obit. just quoted. A MS. of the "Annals of Loch Cé," including the entries for the fifteenth century, must have been in existence⁴⁸ in the earlier portion of the next century. The Four Masters, under the year 1496, copy the words of the Loch Cé entry almost exactly, making but a slight modification. Of the rare learning which our Annals attribute to this Chieftain no evidence in the shape of literary remains was known to exist until after the middle of the nineteenth century. In the autumn of 1869 Dr. James Henthorn Todd, while spending a vacation in Brittany, visited its ancient capital, the city of Rennes, and, when inspecting

⁴⁷ There are extant some treaties between the English Lord Deputies and the O'Neills written in Latin. In the Parliament of 1541 the Earl of Ormond translated the Lord Chancellor's speech into Irish for the Irish Chiefs who attended. The "Indenture" prepared in 1542 to be signed by the Irish Chiefs (and actually signed by a few of them), pledging their allegiance to Henry VIII., was drawn up in Latin that it might be understood by them. McWilliam Eigher, the great Mayo Chief (Hibernis Hibernior) conducted his negotiation with Sidney in Latin. Dermot O'Driscoll conversed in Latin with the Spaniards at Castlehaven in 1601, according to O'Sullivan Beare. Even at the Confederation of Kilkenny, Bishop Heber McMahon had to address the assembly in Latin, not knowing (as he admitted) "either the French or Sassenagh languages." A Royal Proclamation in 1605 against the Irish Jesuits was published in Dublin and other parts of Ireland in Latin. "That it may be generally understood, I am putting it into Latin" (Chichester to Cranbourne).

⁴⁸ A copy belonging to Brian Mac Dermot, Chief of Moylurg, was transcribed in 1588, and the copyist added entries about the events of Brian's lifetime; the MS. transcribed must have belonged to the earlier part of that century, if not to the end of the 15th.

the public library, was shown an old Irish MS. He copied some pages, which, on his return, he showed to Prof. Hennessy (Editor of the "Annals of Loch Cé), who discovered the nature and authorship of the MS. In the following year 1870, Dr. Todd read before the R. I. Academy a paper entitled, "Some account of an Irish MS. deposited by President De Robien in the Public Library, Rennes." Having narrated the circumstances of his discovery, and having alluded to the numerous translations of "Sir John Mandeville's Travels," and the widespread popularity of that book in the 14th and 15th centuries, he writes:—"It has not hitherto been known that there was an Irish version of this remarkable book made at the close of the 15th century by an eminent Irish Chieftain, Finghin O'Mahony."⁴⁹ Induced by Dr. Todd's paper, the Hon. John Abercrombie visited the Rennes Library, transcribed the MS., and wrote an elaborate review of it in the *Revue Celtique* in 1886. He is an acute critic, and shows a fair knowledge of Irish Gaelic. Finally, Whitley Stokes copied the Rennes MS., and published it in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* (Halle, 1899). He gave a literal English translation, divided the text into paragraphs, extended the contractions, and gave a list of the rarer words. Both critics make it clear that the translator worked from the English version, not from the French original. Mr. Abercrombie, while inferring from the translation that "Finghin knew English well," thinks it probable that he was not acquainted with French; but his argument for this latter opinion, which it would take too long to examine here, is by no means conclusive. When Dr. Todd wrote, Sir John Maundeville was regarded as a real personage, and figured in every history of English literature as "the Father of English Prose." Since then the lynx-eyed criticism of the nineteenth century has proved that the name of the English knight (if, indeed, he ever existed) was assumed by an ingenious Frenchman, who is shown to have freely compiled, from a considerable number of mediæval books of travel, the descriptions of the various countries through which "Maundeville" is said to have made his circuitous pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Nevertheless, the author produced a readable and entertaining book, which had an unexampled circulation through Europe in Latin and modern versions. The "speciosa miracula" of the book, the Fountain of youth, the glories of Prester John, the Valley Perilous, &c., made a special impression on Finin, nurtured as he was in his youth on the tales of Tir na nóg and the *Imrama* or wonder-voyages of his native literature, and determined him to select it for translation. From a philological point of view the version is important as affording a specimen of "Middle Irish" (A.D. 1000-1500) just before it passed into "Modern Irish." There is scarcely any other example of the ordinary colloquial language of the time, for the Chroniclers and Annalists could not free their style from the archaisms that had become traditional among the Ollamhs. As the version was made when the writer's old age had already commenced, it cannot be supposed to have been his first, and may have been the least important of his works.

In obedience to a time-honoured custom, he commenced his MS. with a statement of the "place, time, author, and cause of writing," or purpose of the work. The "place" was "Ross Broin" in "Ibh-Eachach

⁴⁹ Dr. Todd attempted to give the genealogy of the Chieftain from the time of Mahon, but was misled by the incorrect "Herald Office" pedigree of A.D. 1600.

Mumhan,"⁵⁰ or Ivagha. The "time," as indicated by numeral letters, the final one being somewhat obscure, was not 1472 (Dr. Todd), but 1475 (Abercrombie and Stokes); the latter writers missed an argument against Dr. Todd, which they might have derived from the translator's statement that, when he wrote, the Chieftain of Ivagha was his brother, Donogh Mór, who did not succeed Connor until 1473 ("Annals of Loch Cé," supra). Having given the name of the original author, the translator then sets down his own name as "Finin, son of Dermot, son of Donal, son of Finin, son of Dermot Mor O'Mahouna." The "cause of writing" was to supply an Itinerarium to Palestine—the purpose also stated in "Maundeville." So far the proemium was of the usual kind. Having by him a list which he had prepared of the contemporary Chiefs, he rightly considered that the most secure means of handing it down to posterity was to insert it, after the formal preface, in a substantive work such as the version of Maundeville. The thoroughly Celtic patriotism of the then Tanist of Ivagha is shown by his studiously ignoring the existence of the Anglo-Irish occupants of the soil of Ireland; even over "the Pale" in the third century after the invasion of Henry II. he recognises only "Mac Murchada, King of Leinster." The two Septs of his own tribe he mentions under their ancient appellation, "Ui Eachach Mumhan," and, curious to say, in giving the names of the two Chiefs, he associates with them "their brothers" ("Con a mbrathairibh"), probably because he was himself a Tanist. As his list of contemporary Chiefs is an interesting historical document, and serves to correct some dates given in the Annals, and has not been hitherto published in Ireland, it has been thought well to give it in full in a footnote.⁵¹

The Rennes MS., the more perfect and the earlier of the two codices,

⁵⁰ In the "Annals of Loch Cé," under the year 1366, Cormac Donn Mac Carthy is called "Lord of Ui Cairbre in Ibh-Eachach Mumhan" (Ivagha). In the time of the undivided Sept of the O'Mahonys, before 1260, their old tribe name, as a geographical term, included Carbery strictly so called, and this ancient usage was kept up by Irish writers for a considerable time. It was an English, not an Irish, usage that afterwards included Ivagha (the Western Land) in "Carbery." The Four Masters, who made frequent use of the "Loch Cé Annals," erroneously transcribed the above entry thus:—" . . . Lord of Ui Cairbre and Ui Eachach Mumhan." The error is adopted by Mr. McC. Glas ("The McCarthys of Cleandrom," p. 55).

⁵¹ The author in his enumeration follows to a certain extent a geographical order, beginning with the two tribes west of Ivagha, and proceeding eastwards, and then northwards:—

"These are the Lords that were over the Gaels when Finin put this into Gaelic, viz. :—
Tadhg, son of Donal Og, son of Tadhg na Mainistrech, son of Donal Og, was Mac Carthaig Mor;

Dermot, son of Tadhg, son of Amhlaibh, was O'Sulabain Berre;

Donchadh (Mor), son of Dermot, son of Donal, son of Finin, and Donal (of Kinelmeiky), and their brothers were over the Ui Eachach (O'Mahonys).

Cormac, son of Donchadh, son of Donal Reagh, over Ui Cairbre (Carbery).

Dermot, son of Donal Reagh, was Mac Carthy Cairbrech (a disputed succession).

Donal, son of Donal, son of Donal Cluaiseach, Mac Carthy was over the Sept of Dermot Reamhar (The Fat).

Finin, son of Mac Con, son of Mac Con, son of Finin, was O'Driscoll Mor;

Cormac, son of Tadhg, son of Cormac, was over Muskerry;

Donchadh Og, son of Donchadh, over Ella (Duhallow);

Concobar, son of Turlough, son of Brian, son of Mahon, was O'Brien;

Henry, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Og, was O'Neill;

Conn, son of Aedh Buidhe, son of Brian Ballagh, had power over Trian Conghail (i.e., was de facto Chief), and his uncle was O'Neill Buidhe;

Aedh Ruadh, son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the Wine, was O'Donnell, and he had power over Lower Connacht;

Phelim, son of Turlough, son of Aedh, son of Turlough, was O'Connor;

is a transcript made at Kilcrea Priory, according to a marginal note in page 69 (in the same handwriting), which seems to the present writer to have been written not by a monk,⁵² but by some wandering scholar who was allowed to transcribe the copy in the Kilcrea library. The Egerton MS. (British Museum) made by Brian O'Rourke, Tanist of Breffny ("Annals F. M., 1484), gives a list of Chiefs reduced to seven, and among them sets down Finin's name as Chieftain of Ivagha, and must therefore have been written after the death of Donogh Mór. If Mr. Abercrombie's opinion be correct, that the Kilcrea manuscript was made about 1475, and the Egerton MS. "a little later," we may, perhaps, conclude that in 1478 Donogh died and Finin succeeded to the chieftaincy.

It may well be supposed that the "general supporter of humanity and hospitality in West Munster" (as the Loch Cé Annalist calls Finin) would extend his generosity by preference to those of his countrymen who cultivated such learning as was attainable in those times. A specially welcome guest in his Castles was Donal O'Fihelly,⁵³ a man of considerable reputation for learning and the author of *Annals of Ireland* in the Irish language, which he dedicated to his patron, the Chieftain of Ivagha. Donal was an Oxford scholar, and Antony à Wood in his *Athenae Oxonienses*, in making mention of his name, says that he was much regarded by his countrymen for his knowledge and industry in matters of history and antiquity, and adds that he was living in 1505. The love of learning which stimulated Donal O'Fihelly and many of his countrymen in the 15th century to study at Oxford, giving their name to "Yrischemen's Street" in that city, was truly disinterested, for they could not hope to obtain thereby any material advantages on their return which would compensate them for their years of hard study and privation. O'Fihelly's historical work was not heard of since it was seen in 1626 by Sir James Ware⁵⁴ "in the possession of

Tadhg Caoch, son of William, was O'Kelly; and William, son of Aedh, son of Brian, opposing him on the other side of the River Suck;

Owen, son of Murchad O'Madagain, over the Sil-Amchada;

Murchad, son of Muirchertach, son of Donchadh Caemhanach (Kavanagh), was King over Leinster;

Caithair, son of Conn, son of Calbhach, over O'Connor Failge;

Tadhg, son of Laigen, son of Rury, was O'Dunn;

Sean, son of Maolroony, son of Tadhg, was King over Elib (Elv O'Carroll);

Gilla na Naomh, son of Tadhg, son of Gilla na Naomh, was over the Hui Mechair (O'Maher);

And many others who, for the sake of brevity, are not reckoned."

The list contains only about a third of the Celtic potentates then ruling—probably because he had not been able to ascertain the indispensable series of four or five ancestors which custom required to be attached to each Chieftain's name. The State Paper of A.D. 1515, already quoted, enumerated sixty-four, and, as has been shown (*supra*), even that list was not a complete one.

⁵² The marginal note is an absurd scribble. The words, "Maunday Thursday to-day, and I under the protection of the man who, &c., and at Kilcrea," imply a casual visitor, not a permanent resident. Both Editors hold that there are some interpolations in the text made by this scribe; one interpolation has "Finin translated this from Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English."

⁵³ See O'Donovan's Edition of "Genealogy of Corcalaidhe," pp. 53-54, about the O'Fihelly territory. The celebrated Maurice De Portu O'Fihelly, Archbishop of Tuam, 1506, and called in the Continental schools where he taught "Flos Mundi," was a member of this family, and probably a relative of Donal's.

⁵⁴ See Mrs. Green's "The Making and Unmaking of Ireland," p. 291, &c. See Ware's "Irish Writers," p. 90, and Wood's "Athenae Oxoniense." Smith copied Ware's notice about O'Fihelly and his patron in the last chapter of his "History of Cork."



ROSSBRIN CASTLE.

Florence McCarthy in London"—doubtless the unfortunate Florence Mac Carthy Mór, a prisoner in the Tower of London. If it could be discovered, it would fill up many a *lacuna* in the history of the South Munster Tribes who have got but scant justice from the Annalists of the North.

It is probable that it was in the lifetime of Finin that a bard attached to Rosbrin Castle composed the "Saltair (Psalter) of Rosbrin." It was extant when Smith wrote his *History of Cork*, and the description he got of it from some Irish scholar was that "it contains little else than a genealogical account of the (Western) family of the O'Mahonys." Since Smith's time no copy of this MS. has been seen. "Unkind fate," says Windele,⁵⁵ "has bereft the Senachie of this record. Some may deem this no loss to literature, but for my part—and there are those who may too agree with me—I am not disposed to wish the loss of any work which may afford the smallest gleam of light on the history, the manners, opinions, or state of mental or political improvement of an ancient people. A Mr. Otway, the flippant writer of *Sketches in Ireland*, glorying in the loss of this Psalter, asks with exultation, "where is now the rhyming record of all the pious practices and crimson achievements of those sea lords?" Would that I could answer! I would not give one of its quatrains for all the disingenuousness and fanatical slaver of his discoloured and muddy sketches." (From the article, "Dr. Mac Slatt in the West," marked "J. Windele" in his own copy.)

Though this Chieftain must have gone to reside at Ardintennane Castle, for two centuries the chief residence of the Head of the Sept, he continued to be called, in the next generation and since, "Finin of Rosbrin" from the name of the place where he spent the greater part of his life.⁵⁶ What remains to be recorded of him is soon told. He married the daughter of O'Donoghue Mor of Loch Lene (Killarney), and had a son Donal, and a daughter who was married to O'Driscoll. He governed his Clan for about eighteen years, and died at an advanced age in the year already mentioned, 1496.

From the days of the first distinctive ancestor, Aedh Urgarbh (fl. 550) the Clan whose history is here being written had never been convulsed by any internal dissension. There was hitherto no instance of a disputed succession. It was in strict accordance with the Law of Tanistry that three sons of Dermot Runtach, viz., Concobar or Connor, Donogh Mór, and Finin succeeded in their turn to the Chieftainship. "The Law of Tanistry is," said Carew (Lambeth Pedigrees) "that the eldest man of the blood succeed to the Lordship of the territory." By virtue of the same law,⁵⁷ Donal, the fourth and youngest of the brothers, and the survivor of them, expected the Chieftaincy. But the actual rule of succession was by no

⁵⁵ Bolster's Magazine, Dec., 1829, p. 23.

⁵⁶ Rosbrin, on one side, rises sheer from the sea. On the land side it appears from some existing substructions to have had flanking towers, as other castles of Ivagha had. A farm house in the vicinity was probably built out of the ruined outworks.

⁵⁷ It has been otherwise expressed as follows:—"The law of Tanistry means lateral succession from brother to brother, or (if there were no brothers of the late chief) from cousin to cousin, "the eldest in years of equal blood." The "eldest and the best man of his name" was the description of the Chief, "eldest and best" being synonymous, as also were the adjectives "youngest and meanest," the latter term being used only in a genealogical sense, as in the case of one of the Kinelmeky Chiefs. Five brothers were in succession Chiefs of the Clan of McCarthy Reagh in the 16th century, and on the death of the last of them, the son of an elder brother got his turn.

means of the fixed and unalterable character that the above absolute statement would imply. The right of the Clan to make a selection from the immediate relatives of the deceased Chief, though it was generally latent, and might be supposed to be in abeyance, was often successfully asserted. When the son of a popular chief was of full age and gave evidence of military qualities, the Clan usually acquiesced in his appointment with such unanimity that the uncles did not put forward their pretensions. The *raison d'être* of the Tanist usage did not exist in such instances. This will explain how from the first quarter of the tenth century to the end of the first quarter of the twelfth, or to be more exact, to the year 1135, the succession of Chiefs of the O'Mahony Clan was identical with the succession in the genealogical list of the ruling family. The Chieftainship passed from father to eldest son, as if the system of Primogeniture was recognised. But at the very first opportunity that presented itself—in the year just mentioned—the ordinary Tanist Law was not interfered with, and the uncle succeeded in preference to the nephew, who was under age.

To return to the affairs of Ivagha in 1496, on the death of the last Chieftain, the Clan was involved in the turmoil of a disputed succession. Conor (Concobar) called Conor Fionn (genitive, Finn), or "the fair-haired," the son of Conor (Concobar Cabaice), who died (as we have seen) in 1473, opposed the claim of his uncle, Donal of Dunbeacon Castle. His own claim was opposed by junior cousins, the sons of Donogh Mór and of Finin, who saw a chance for themselves, if the established usage were to be set aside. Eventually, Conor Fionn triumphed over all his opponents, not perhaps by force of arms, for that circumstance is not mentioned by the Annalists, who would not be likely to omit mentioning a combat. Probably he got so large a following among the Clan that all opposition had soon to be abandoned. He was the first "O'Mahon Fionn," an appellation given to all his successors in the MSS. of the Irish Genealogists and in the State Papers, down to the extinction of the Sept. To distinguish him from the namesakes who succeeded him, the genealogists of his own tribe gave him the sobriquet of Conor Fionn na neac "of the steeds." Besides his eldest son, who succeeded him, he had a son Finin of Cruachán (Crookhaven), where he had a castle, which after the Confiscation (1657) the English authorities used as a prison. It is alluded to in Bishop Dive Downes' visitation in 1599:—"There (in Crookhaven) are also the walls of an old castle, which they say was formerly a prison; there are the ruins of a chapel at the west end of the town." To this Finin his father gave the Castle of Dunbeacon, with the four ploughlands attached to it, after the death, without issue, of his uncle and unsuccessful competitor, Donal. Between the Ivagha Chiefs and the Heads of the other Western Septs friendly relations had existed without interruption during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and were occasionally strengthened by marriage alliances. Conor Fionn had a daughter, Joanna, who was married to O'Driscoll (Conogher), and became the mother of Sir Finin; after O'Driscoll's death she married O'Mahony of Carbery, Chief of Kinelmecky. She is referred to in an Irish elegy on Sir Finin (in O'Donovan's *Genealogy of Corcalaide*)⁵⁸ where he is apostrophised as "μαc ιβαν ιλιετ na ζ-cυμav,"

⁵⁸ The elegy was by an O'Daly of Carbery, one of the family that had been hereditary bards of the Ivagha Chiefs—which will account for this eulogistic passage.

"son of Joanna of the race of heroes." Adjoining Ivagha on the east was the territory of the Clandermod, a branch of the Mac Carthy Reaghs. According to the Clandermod pedigree in Carew's Lambeth Collection, Donal Mac Carthy (son of the Clandermod Chief, Donal, and his wife, a daughter of Barry Roe) "was married to a daughter of O'Mahonie," and received from his father "the castell of Kilcoe and other lands"; and "Honor, daughter of O'Mahonie," was married to the fourth son, Cormac, who obtained "for his portion Cloghan Castle and three carucates of its demesne land." The Christian name of the "O'Mahonie" is not given, but from chronological reasons it is clear that he was the first Conor Fionn. Another daughter was married (Lambeth pedigree of the O'M.) to Maolmuire Mac Swiney, whose son Turlough, captain of galloglasses in the pay of Mac Carthy Reagh, defeated the Geraldine invaders of Carbery at Innishannon, A.D. 1560 (*Annals Four M.*)

Conor Fionn had three brothers—Finin Caol (a quo the families known as Mahony Caol), occupied Leamcon Castle, and another brother, David, held four ploughlands in the neighbourhood of the same Castle, and Dermod had Dunlogh Castle, on "Three Castle Head," with eight ploughlands.

Conor Fionn was the ruler of the Clan for seventeen years. The following is the notice of him in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the year A.D. 1513:—"O'Mahony, Conor Fionn, son of Conor, son of Dermod Runtach, died this year. This Conor made his way to the Chieftainship of his native territory, in spite of the Sinsear and the Soisear." On the entry the Editor, Dr. O'Donovan, has a footnote:—"In despite of the Sinsear and Soisear, i.e., in despite of his senior and junior rivals; τὰν τὰμὰν in this sentence means literally 'beyond their hands,' i.e., beyond their exertions; the hands of both senior and junior rivals being raised to prevent him from making his way to the κεανουο, headship or chieftainship of his native territory of Ivahagh."⁵⁹

The late Chieftain was not immediately succeeded by his eldest son. The Chieftainship passed to Conor Fionn's next brother, Finin Caol of Leamcon Castle, by the Tanist law of lateral succession. In the Report drawn up in 1515, which sets forth, for the information of Henry VIII., that by far the greater part of Ireland was still in the hands of the "Irish enemy," and gives a list of sixty-four Heads of Septs, Finin Caol O'M. was the personage referred to as "O'Mahon of Fonnsheragh (Fonn Iartharach), Chyef Captayne of his nation." He and his predecessors had kept aloof altogether from the representatives of English power in the country, and had governed their Tribeland according to immemorial usages, just as if Henry II. had never landed in Ireland. It is not known how long Finin Caol held his office, but on his death, though he had a son (Donal a quo O'Mahony Caol), by the operation of the same law that secured the Headship for himself, he was succeeded by another brother. This was Dermod of Dunlogh Castle on Three Castle Head—a lonely residence which he was probably not reluctant to exchange for Ardintennane. On the death of Dermod, the Chieftainship at length reverted to his nephew, the son of

⁵⁹ The above passage, correctly, of course, rendered by Dr. O'Donovan, has been ridiculously translated since his time in two "County Histories" as follows:—"This Conor O'M. excelled in the management of his estate all who went before him and all who came after him"! (See Miss Cusack's "History of Cork" and "History of Kerry".)

Conor Fionn. Conor Fionn, the second O'Mahouna Fionn, was distinguished by the tribal genealogists from his namesakes (grandfather and father and son) by the appellations of Conor Fionn Og and Conor Fionn na ccroir.⁶⁰ His accession may be considered to have taken place before 1535, as his predecessor, the son of one who died in 1473 (*Annals F. M.*) and succeeded in 1427, would probably be much over ninety years of age in 1535. It is morally certain that he must have been the Chief in 1540. In 1537 Antony St. Leger came over from England as Lord Deputy, with instructions to obtain from the Irish Chiefs and Anglo-Norman Lords a declaration of allegiance to Henry VIII., and (what his Majesty was equally solicitous about) a recognition of his claim to be the Head of the Church in his dominion. When St. Leger came to Cork for this purpose in 1642, six Heads of Septs responded to his invitation and made the required declarations. These were McCarthy Mor, McCarthy Reagh, McCarthy of Muskerry, McDonogh of Duhallow, O'Sullivan Beare (Dermot), and O'Callaghan. They certainly pledged their allegiance to the King of England, but as to his novel claim to be "Head of the Church" possibly they did not realise its full meaning, and thought he was asserting some right to ecclesiastical patronage; at all events, they and their sons after them continued to live as members of the Catholic Church. Conor Fionn Og of Ivagha, his kinsman O'Mahony of Kinelmeky, and O'Driscoll, O'Donovan, O'Keeffe, the two O'Donoghues, and Mac Auliffe paid no heed to the Lord Deputy's humiliating demands.

Conor Fionn Og married Ellen, the daughter of "O'Mahony of Carbery,"⁶¹ Chief of Kinelmeky, and had three sons, Conor, Donal and Dermot, the latter of whom died sine prole. In the interval between the year last mentioned (1542) and the year 1562 there is nothing to record about the affairs of Ivagha. But in the latter year an incident occurred which occasioned the downfall of one of the principal families of the Clan, and eventually brought the Chieftain into collision with the English Government. From the end of the last century the owner of Rosbrin Castle had been regarded as next in status to his cousin, the Chieftain who resided in the neighbouring Castle of Ardintennane. His wealth equalled or nearly equalled that of the Chief, and he could bring to the muster of the tribal forces a larger contingent of horsemen, though fewer kerne. In fact, he was able to raise a much larger number of horsemen than the heads of the other western septs, O'Driscoll, O'Donovan, and O'Sullivan Beare⁶² taken together. While such resources were at the disposal of the descendants of

⁶⁰ He is called Connor Fionn "na grestie" in the Harleian MS. pedigree, British Museum; probably this is a distortion of "na ccros." In the same MS. Finin Caol appears as "Finin Keard," but in the accompanying notes the name is spelled "Keale." Dermot is called in same MS. "Drashah." In this MS. square marks are placed near the names of Finin and Dermot and Connor Fionn—which, in the "accompanying notes," are explained to mean that the persons so marked "have been lords of the country of Ivagha."

⁶¹ Whoever made the Index of O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters" fell into the error of giving the appellation "of Carbery" to the eastern and western chiefs of the O'M. indiscriminately. Irish usage confined the name "Cairbreach" to the Chief of Kinelmeky.

⁶² Carew's estimate, "ten horsemen," is confirmed by Don Philip O'Sullivan's admission—"pauci equites." (Hist. "Cath. Hiberniae.") As stated in a previous page, the Rosbrin Chief had forty-six.

"Finin of Rosbrin," it is some evidence of their strong sense of tribal discipline that none of them attempted by armed force to seize on the Chieftaincy when that position became vacant. In 1562 the proprietor of Rosbrin was Donal, son of Conor, son of Donal, the son of Finin "The Scholar." About Donal no Irish account has come down to us, and the only source of information is an Inquisition held in Cork in 1576, the fourteenth year after his death. In this Inquisition it is stated that "Donal Mac Conogher O'Mahonye, of Rossbryn, gentleman," was seized on Sept. 20th, 1562, while within the Liberties of Cork, tried on a charge of what is vaguely called "felony," condemned, and put to death. In other documents the specific charge made against him is mentioned as "piracy." As the Inquisition further states that he was attainted and his Castle and demesne lands absolutely forfeited, and as high treason alone involved absolute forfeiture of real estate, it is clear Donal must have attacked at sea some Government vessel—an act that would be construed, in legal phraseology, as "levying war on the King." From the point of view of the western septs, this act would not be regarded as piracy in the ordinary sense of the term. They would not place it in the same category as an attack made on a vessel coming from the Continent to trade or fish on the Irish coast. They were "the Irish enemy," officially described as such in the State papers of that century. They knew that from 1339, when "an admiral was sent to arrest traders with the Irish," an attempt was made from time to time to deprive them of their chief means of living by preventing Spanish and French vessels from coming to their harbours.⁶³ An Act of Edward IV. (1465) deplored the increasing commerce of the Irish, and ordered that no foreign vessels should fish in Irish waters. This policy was continued by Elizabeth, who sent orders that "the commerce be got into our own people's hands," i.e., the hands of English colonists in the towns of Ireland. But the Government was too weak to carry out this policy effectively, and vessels from the Continent, protected by the western Chiefs, as we have shown in a former page, came in hundreds to the Western Coast, while (as the Mayor of Waterford⁶⁴ wrote in 1542) they carefully avoided the south-east coast, haunted by the Thomsons, Eagles, Colles, Whiteheads, and other English pirates. It may be, therefore, that the vessel that Donal pursued to Cork Harbour and failed to take was one engaged in keeping off foreign traders that might have come into his own harbour of Rosbrin.

A trial on a charge of piracy, held in the piratical city of Cork, was a curious spectacle :

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes.

Mr. Gibson, vol. i. p. 170 and seq., having given instances of "port piracy," and related how Malvoisey wine, part of the plunder of a Venetian vessel⁶⁵ driven in by stress of weather, was sent as a present to the King

⁶³ See this proved by a long array of authorities in Mrs. Green's recent book, "The Making and Unmaking of Ireland."

⁶⁴ "No foreign ships come to our ports for fear of pirates." (Letter of Mayor of Waterford in Cal. of State Papers.)

⁶⁵ The Venetian Republic was then at peace with England. Public opinion in England as to piracy was strikingly shown in 1573, when Drake, after preying on the Commerce of Spain, then at peace with England, arrived in Plymouth, and a whole congregation left the preacher to address empty benches and rushed to see "the evidence of God's blessing on the Queen and country."



DUNBEACON CASTLE.



DUNLOGH CASTLE.

(Edward), sarcastically observes: "Foreign traders would scarcely style Cork Harbour 'Statio bene fida carinis.'"

Having put Donal to death, the Cork civic authorities fitted up, at the enormous expense of £400 (£4,000 of our money), an expedition to seize Rosbrin Castle, which they claim to have done "with the loss of killed and wounded citizens." They then made it over on "O'Mahono Fynn (Fionn) and "Cornelius O'Mahon" (his son and successor), "who kept the Castle and land for eight years and enjoyed all the profits." This, of course, means that they were compelled to surrender the Castle to the Chief of Ivagha, and to retire without recouping themselves for their great expenditure. It may be presumed that Rosbrin and its lands were held by the guardian of his tribe on behalf of the heir. In 1571 (according to the authority above quoted), Sir John Perrott, the newly-appointed Lord President of Munster, sending an adequate force to Rosbrin, wrested from the Chieftain of Ivagha that Castle and its lands, the custody of which "for the Queen's use" was then entrusted to Mac Sweeny gallowglasses, who were in the pay of the Government. Next year we find this garrison charged with rebellious practices and punished with a fine (probably never enforced) of "sixty good fat cows." (Fiants of Elizabeth, 1572.)

From a pardon, in the Fiants of 1576, to the Mac Sweeny gallowglasses and to "Teig Mac Conor O'Mahony, gentleman," for "conspiracy, confederation, and rebellion," it is plain that the garrison made common cause with the dispossessed family. The question "*Sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes*" had now to be faced. A garrison composed of English soldiers could not be provided. So, in a "Fiant" of 1578, "by the advice of our right trusty counsellor, Sir H. Sidney," Conogher O'M., brother of the attainted Donal (and father of Teig above-mentioned) was put in possession of the castle and demesne lands, subject to an almost nominal rent and to the conditions that he "shall not alienate or impose on his tenants the exactions of 'coyne and livery.'"

The document enumerates the seven and a half (recte, nine) ploughlands, and it is interesting to find among them the obsolete place-name "Kileaspuig-mic-oen," which preserved at that time the memory of a now forgotten Bishop. The Rosbrin family rapidly regained their status, as it must have been in the next year—preceding the Desmond War—that the estimate of their forces was made, which has been already given from Carew's investigations.

But to return to the history of the head of the Clan, Conor Fionn, the second of that name. From the Cork Inquisition we infer that he was alive in 1571, when Sir John Perrott's expedition came to seize Rosbrin. This loss, and perhaps some personal afflictions during the course of his life, may probably account for his Irish sobriquet, "na ccros"—of the misfortunes. He must have been, then, advanced in years, and he probably died soon after, but we have no exact record of the date of his death. His son did not immediately succeed him. The Chieftaincy passed, first, to his brother Donal, and then to his brother Dermot. To their names is attached the mark indicating Chieftainship in the Lambeth pedigree (Carew MSS.); the document requires corroboration, which in this case is forthcoming. In 1587 there was a controversy in the O'Sullivan Beare Clan⁶⁶ between Donal Cam (afterwards the celebrated Donal of Dunboy) and his

⁶⁶ "Calendar of State Papers," 1587.

uncle Owen or Sir Owen, the actual Chief, as to whether the Tanist succession or that by lineal descent was the rule of the Clan. The latter, in support of his contention, asserted that the Tanist Law of succession prevailed "in all the adjoining Clans," the next of which, on the south, was Ivagha. Donal, his nephew, would be glad to be able to point out, in reply, a contemporary instance of immediate lineal succession in Ivagha, but he was unable to do so. Neither Donal nor Dermot O'Mahon enjoyed for more than a year or two the office which came to them so late in life. There is reason for believing that Conor Fionn III. succeeded in 1575, and that he, and not his aged uncle Dermot, was the "O'Mahon" whom, with a few other Chiefs, Sir H. Sidney in December of that year was thinking of having "nobilitated," in order to try to win them over to the English interest. (See Gibson's *Hist. of Cork*, vol. i. p. 227.) Conor Fionn married, first, the daughter of McCarthy Reagh, and on her death took as his second wife the daughter of the Knight of Kerry (Harleian MS., 1425, Brit. Museum). He had several daughters, and three sons all younger than the daughters, and minors at the time of his death.

In 1576 a Fiant grants the pardon of "Owen Mac Carthy Reagh of Kilbrittain; Florence O'Mahoone, called O'Mahoone Carbery of Castle-mahon; Conor O'Mahoone of Crookhaven, and Finin O'Hederschoil, called O'Hederscheol (O'Driscoll)," for sundry infringements of English Law. From the collocation of the third name between those of two Chieftains, it is certainly that of Conor Fionn, though "O'Mahon of Ivagha" was accidentally omitted after it; one of the castles in which he used to reside was Ballydevlin, near Crookhaven, and he might, therefore, be described as from it. The charge of fabricating false money brought against so many Chieftains, according to the Fiant, requires some elucidation. About 1550 the Lord Deputy was petitioned by the Kinsale Council to compel their neighbours, Mac Carthy Reagh, Barryroe, Barry Oge, and others "to take the King's coin." But as Mr. Gibson shows, the coin sent to Ireland in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth was a debased coinage. Foreign merchants, he says, shunned ports where the coinage was light and bad. Under these circumstances the Irish Chiefs were driven to manufacture a coinage for themselves, such as the Spanish and French traders would not refuse to accept. They probably took for their model the Spanish dollar, which was of good silver, and, says Mr. Gibson, "must have gone far to make King Philip popular in Ireland."

Conor Fionn (III.) was Chieftain of Ivagha in the memorable year 1579, the year of the Insurrection known as the Desmond Rebellion. The Rosbrin family, though recently restored to their possessions after an exclusion of seventeen years, courageously resolved to take part in the struggle for civil and religious liberty. Donal Mac Conor O'M., who had become head of that family, in succession to his father, led his contingent of "forty-six horsemen and one hundred kerne (*vide supra*) to the rendezvous at Ballyhowra on the 9th of August,⁶⁷ where he met his kinsman, the Chieftain of Kinelmeky. There is reason to believe that Donal of Rosbrin was accompanied by some other leading men of the Clan outside his own territory. One of those was the proprietor of Dun-

⁶⁷ Inquisition of 1586, "Conogher O'M. nuper de Kinelmeky . . . intravit in rebellionem apud Ballyhaury, nono die Aug., 1579."

beacon Castle, whose participation in the Rising would not be known but for an incidental reference in a State Paper of 1588, which will be quoted later on. But the Head of the Clan kept aloof from the enterprise. It must not be assumed that he did not share the national sentiments of his kinsmen of Rosbrin and Kinelmecky. He had a cogent reason for remaining at home—the protection of his tribeland against the machinations of a hostile neighbour on the north-west. This was Owen, or Sir Owen, O'Sullivan, the then Chieftain of Beara, who, for his loyalty, obtained a title from Queen Elizabeth. Not venturing to invade Ivagha himself (see previous account of his forces), he invited the hot-headed youth, Sir James of Desmond (youngest brother of the Earl) to do so. Raiding of this kind, which had been long since given up by the Celtic Chieftains of the South, had remained the ingrained, hereditary practice of the House of Desmond, as we have shown in the account of Kinelmecky.⁶⁸ No Irish tribe kept a sufficient standing force in arms, and a long peninsula such as Ivagha might be raided in remote parts by marauders, who could retreat before the clansmen could be concentrated. O'Sullivan's nephew and competitor for the Chieftainship—the subsequently celebrated Donal Cam of Dunboy—in his "Answer to the false allegations of Owen O'Sullivan,"⁶⁹ addressed to the Lord Deputy in 1587, says, "After the proclaiming of Desmond and his confederates, Nov. 2nd, 1579, Owen sent word to Sir James of Desmond, younger brother of the Earl, and entreated him to come to O'Mahon Fionn's country, adjoining his, and to spoil the said country; and if there was any danger towards him, that he would hasten to rescue him, which James did, coming to and fro through Owen's dwelling. Owen was always ready to help him if danger was imminent." This account—and especially the expression "coming to and fro"—implies a succession of rapid inroads and retreats arranged so as to avoid an encounter with the injured clan. This aggression, of a furtive character and unredeemed by any display of bravery, assumes a peculiarly odious aspect from the time chosen for it—the time when nearly half the clansmen of Ivagha had departed for the national campaign. A few months afterwards this impetuous Sir James indulged in his hereditary practice once too often. Influenced by "hereditary enmity for Sir Cormac Mac Teig,"⁷⁰ he made a raid into Muskerry without the co-operation of a confederate on the frontier, was wounded, seized and handed over to the English authorities of Cork, by whom he was executed in the barbarous fashion of the times.

The incident which we have narrated illustrates the difficulties which lay in the way of a complete combination of the Southern tribes in 1579.

After the close of the Desmond War, Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, summoned a Parliament for April, 1585, to which he invited the Heads of

⁶⁸ This Journal, July-Sept., 1908, p. 137.

⁶⁹ "Calendar of State Papers," 1587, p. 122. Donal describes his uncle, Sir Owen, as a "rude man," and as ignorant of the English language.

⁷⁰ "Vetere inimicitia, Muscram deprædandi causa ingressus." O'Sullivan Beare's "Hist. Cath. Hiberniæ," Dub. Ed., p. 119. Old enmity might also have been the motive for the raid on Ivagha. It was peculiarly impolitic at the time for any of the Desmonds to alienate Sir Cormac Mac Teig, who, model loyalist though he had been, secretly favoured the Rebellion and attended one meeting of the leaders on May 10th, 1580. (Lord Justice Pelham to Elizabeth.) "Sir Cormac let the traitors pass with their spoil." (So wrote St. Leger to Lord Burghley in 1580.)

Septs. In every historical notice of the O'Mahonys hitherto published it is stated that Conor Fionn O'Mahony attended "Perrot's Parliament." It is quite certain, however, that he did not attend; he felt himself much safer in his land of castles and fastnesses. Neither did any other Chief⁷¹ from the South, except Mac Carthy More, then Earl of Clancar. The Roll of Perrot's Parliament, still preserved, and published by the Irish Archæol. Society in "Tracts Relating to Ireland," Dublin, 1840, is decisive on this point. The Four Masters, who first made that erroneous statement, took it for granted that all the Munster Chiefs responded to the invitation of the Lord Deputy, as did their own patron, O'Gara,⁷² and a few others from Connacht and Ulster. Their entry regarding Conor Fionn is here quoted because (though erroneous as a statement of fact) it is a correct genealogical record: "Do éuaib ann tona . . . O Maṭṣamna an Fúinn Iarṭaraiṣ, Concobair, mac Concabair Fínn óicc, mac Concobair Fíno, mic Concobair Uí Maṭṣamna.—"Thither came O'Mahony of the Western Land, Conor, the son of Conor Fionn Og, the son of Conor Fionn, the son of Conor O'Mahony."

Had he attended this Parliament, he would have the mortification of witnessing the attainder of a remote kinsman, "O'Mahony of Carbery" (slain in battle), and of a nearer relative. In the 8th chapter of the Act of Perrot's Parliament (2nd session), amongst the participators in the Desmond War, attainted and sentenced to death, was "Daniel Mac Conogher O'Mahowne of Rosbrin Castle, gentleman." But his attainder by name in the Act of Parliament had been forestalled by the action of the English authorities in 1584, in which year a lease from Queen Elizabeth conveyed to Oliver Lambert, gent., the Castle and demesne of Rosbrin, "containing half an acre of land, surrounded by a wall, with edifices therein,"⁷³ and "one thousand and eighty acres adjoining, parcel of the possessions of Donal O'M., of high treason attainted." As neither in this, nor in a subsequent document in 1602 regarding the Castle, is Donal mentioned as "slain in rebellion" or "executed for high treason"; he probably succeeded in escaping to the Continent. Unaware of the lease to Lambert, one Teig Carty⁷⁴ (acc. to State Papers, 1587) sought to obtain

⁷¹ The invitation to Mullaghmast and its frightful sequel (in 1578) must have created alarm and inspired caution.

⁷² To O'Gara's influence Dr. O'Donovan, in his Notes to Annals, 1579-1585, attributes the anti-national spirit in which the Four Masters relate the affairs of Munster during that period.

⁷³ Fiant, A.D. 1584, 4429. In the enumeration of the Rosbrin townlands in the lease is mentioned Illaune-Connista. This is, perhaps, the Conys Island in a map of the west coast, published in 1750.

⁷⁴ Teig applied on another occasion for confiscated land in Killorglin, Co. Kerry. This unknown Teig, the writer of the notice about the O'Mahony Clan in this "Journal," 1897, converts into Mac Carthy Reagh (Sir Owen), of that period, and makes him apply for Rosbrin as "overlord," and not as a tenant at £5 a year. The writer of the notice then goes on to say that Mac Carthy's claim was referred to Bishop Lyon, who wrote in reference to the claim the letter we have already given in the account of Kinelmeky, to which alone the letter referred. This writer must have had the State paper entry about Teig Carty and Bishop Lyon's letter before him when he thus distorted and manufactured "history." He goes on to say that Teig O'M., grandson of Donal, attainted in 1562, got back Rosbrin Castle, and was attainted, and that he gave his name to the Sliocht Teig—which was already known for two centuries under that name. With equal regard for historical evidence, this writer makes a sweeping charge of piracy and wrecking against the Sept. He says "it was never a large Sept," not knowing the extent of the original tribeland.

a bargain from the Privy Council by offering £5 for a "half acre called Rosbrin," hoping that they would not remember that there was a Castle on the plot of land. After the lapse of a few years, some confiscated lands having been restored to their (Anglo-Irish) proprietors, by the weakness or policy of the English Government, numerous applications were made for similar concessions. In the "Docquet of Irish Suitors" (1594) and "List of particular suits" (1597) appear the names of O'Connor Sligo, Donal Mac Teig O'Mahony "suing for Rosbrin," and a few others of the Irish. Donal was the grandson of the Donal who was put to death in Cork in 1562, as already narrated, and whose son Teig had gone after his father's death into the Spanish service and acquired the agnomen of Spainneach. Donal, son of Teig Spainneach, did not succeed in recovering Rosbrin. He joined O'Neill's Insurrection, and was one of the numerous recipients of pardons mentioned in the Fiants of 1602. Rosbrin was surrendered by Lambert to the Crown in 1602, was leased again to one Morgan, and thus passed away forever from its original proprietors, about whose subsequent fortunes nothing is recorded.

The name of the insurgent owner of Dunbeacon Castle is shown in the Harleian MS. pedigree, Brit. Museum. He was Donal, son of Finin of Cruachán (Crookhaven), and grandson of the first "O'Mahon Fionn." He was, therefore, a first cousin of the ruling Chief in 1579. The Harleian MSS., in stating that he was "Lord of Dunbeacon with four ploughlands," and "living in 1600," does not necessarily imply that he retained the ownership until 1600. It is clear from a letter of Justice Jessua Smith in 1588 that the castle was confiscated, and that its owner imitated the example of the expropriated Donal Grainne O'Mahon of Kinelmeky, who burned Castlemahon—"a like company hath burned Dunbeacon Castle." It seems to have been given to one Apsley (Smith, *Hist. of Cork*), from whom it passed to Hull.

In the beginning of the year 1579, the Sept-land of Ivagha⁷⁵ contained one hundred and fifty ploughlands. The sea continued to be its principal source of wealth, as in past centuries. The large dues⁷⁶ paid by foreign vessels that came to trade or fish, the profits of trading with those vessels, and the fisheries, kept up a population that would be greatly reduced if it became mainly dependent on the land. In 1584 commenced the decay of the Sept, and continued until its downfall in 1649. Rosbrin and Dunbeacon were detached, by confiscation, from the remaining territory, and garrisoned by strangers. Strained relations arose between Spain and England, and the Spanish and Portuguese vessels that used to frequent the coast in such large numbers must have ceased to come. In 1586 the

⁷⁵ According to the Carew MSS., the lands of O'M. Fionn, including 36 ploughlands of the Sliocht Teig, were 141, but as this was the account for the period 1592-1601, the nine ploughlands of Rosbrin then confiscated are not enumerated. The total number, therefore, was one hundred and fifty in 1562, and again in 1578, when the Rosbrin family was restored to its lands. If we add to the above total for Ivagha, the sixty-three ploughlands of Kinelmeky and the sixty-three held by the three Minor Septs of West Muskerry, we find that out of their vast tribeland, "from Cork to Carn uí Neid" (Mizen Head) in the period before the English invasion, the O'Mahonys had retained two hundred and seventy-six ploughlands down to the time of the Desmond War.

⁷⁶ The Inquisition held after the death of Conor Fionn gives no information about those dues, but those of O'Driscoll were inserted in his Inquisition, as Crook, who got a grant of his rights, took care that they should be enumerated for his own purposes.

English Government went through the form of appointing a Commission⁷⁷ to inquire whether the dues and customs in the harbours of the southern and western coasts may not "belong of right to Her Majesty," and the finding of such a Commission was a foregone conclusion. The Chieftain of Ivagha had fallen on evil days, and had to raise funds by the hitherto unknown expedient of a mortgage, an expedient not consistent with the old Tribal Law. He mortgaged Innisfodda (Long Island) and "Callacrowe," equivalent to "three ploughlands," to one Richard Roche, of Kinsale, whose son continued in possession of the said lands until 1612. After 1590 the Co. Cork Chieftains who still maintained their ancient status, alarmed at the extent of the confiscations, and at the continual arrival from England of adventurers hungering for more forfeitures, began to think of securing their possessions by a title derived from English Law. O'Mahon of Ivagha, O'Donovan, O'Callaghan, and Teig Owen MacCarthy of Drishane, consulted together⁷⁸ in the beginning of 1592, and decided to yield to the inevitable and adopt the policy of "surrender and regrant," i.e., to surrender their tribelands to the English Sovereign, to be conveyed back to the Chiefs personally as feudal owners. They jointly signed a form of application to the Lord Deputy, drawn up by a lawyer named Thomas Gould. The request forwarded to Elizabeth was readily granted, for English policy had, for a long time, been aiming at the total abolition of Tanist Law, which generally ensured the selection of a capable head of a sept. In a letter to the Lord Deputy, dated March 4th, 1592, the Queen agrees to accept (inter alios) "from Conogher O'Mahon alias O'Mahon Fionn of Ivagha the surrender of his possessions, and to regrant the same to him and his heirs, without prejudice to any rights we may have or ought to have to these lands, &c."⁷⁹

What those heads of septs did through necessity when English power had become supreme in the South, had been done without such an excusing circumstance by McCarty Reagh in 1496, when the authority of Henry VII. was almost a nullity outside the Pale, and by McCarthy More long before the issue of the Desmond War extinguished the hope of Celtic independence. This procedure of "surrender and regrant" has been often condemned as a spoilation of the clansmen, whose rights to a share of the tribeland were as definite as that of the Chief to his portion, and who would become the tenants at will of a Chief converted into a feudal landlord. No doubt, in course of time, that evil result was experienced. But in presence of the danger of confiscation for the benefit of English adventurers, the conversion of their own Chief into a landlord would probably appear to the clansmen, if they discussed the matter at all, the least of two evils. In Ivagha the "surrender and regrant" made no change in the immemorial relations between the Chief and his subordinates; the successors of Conogher were content with their hereditary portion and their old rents; they recognised all existing rights of occupancy, and never exercised over their cousins' lands the newly-acquired feudal authority. This is amply proved by numerous "Inquisitions" of the owners of castles and

⁷⁷ Cal. of State Papers, 1587.

⁷⁸ The meeting place must have been in Cork City, where doubtless the lawyer, Thomas Gould, resided.

⁷⁹ Morrin's Patent Rolls. A memorandum of Gould's states that the letter was enrolled on January, 1594. The Patents of the other Chiefs were renewed by James I.

ploughlands in Ivagha, who are described as "owners in fee," and as letting lands to tenants without any reference to the Chief.

Conor Fionn died on March 20th, 1592, a few weeks after he had exchanged his ancient status for that of a feudal proprietor.

From the preceding history it is evident that the succession of Chiefs had been in strict accordance with Tanist Law, which would not be the case if the Sept of Ivagha recognised any overlord as having a discretionary power to interfere with its choice by refusing "the rod of Chieftaincy." Wherever such a right was admitted it was not suffered to fall into abeyance, but exercised from time to time, and its exercise recorded. The existence of such a right would be specially exhibited in the case of a disputed succession. Now, in the one instance of a disputed succession—after the death of Finin "the scholar," in 1496, not only is there no evidence of any interposition by an overlord, but such a supposition is clearly negatived by the wording of the entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, under the year 1513. The entry (quoted page 190 *supra*) taken in connection with O'Donovan's note, makes it plain that the first O'Mahon Fionn, by his own energy, and not by the favouritism of an outsider, forced his way to the headship, "the hands of both senior and junior rivals being raised to prevent him." It is a mistake to suppose that a payment of a chiefry was, as a matter of course, a recognition of the right to inaugurate. Many instances might be given to prove this assertion, but the following extracts from McCarthy More's⁸⁰ claims should suffice:—"The Eighth is the country of McGillacuddy. He (McC. More) claimeth the Rising out, the giving of the Rod, the finding of 30 gallow-glasses. . . . The Eleventh is the country of O'Donoghue-Glan (of the Glens). He (McCarthy More) hath there no other duty (i.e., right) except six and forty shillings of yearly rent." To supply some evidence of the "giving of the Rod" in Ivagha, Mr. McCarthy (Glas) quotes "a marginal note to the pedigree of the O'Mahonys at Lambeth," and attempts to prove that the note is in the handwriting of Sir George Carew: "O'Mahon's country doth follow the ancient Tanist law. Unto whom McCarthy Reagh shall give the white rod, he is O'Mahon . . . the election avails not without the rod." Now, Carew could not have written that note. He knew that, seven years before he became President of Munster, the usage of Tanistry was abolished in Ivagha by the surrender and regrant, and he himself had got in 1501 the custody and wardship of O'Mahon's son Donal, "as being the son under age of a feudal proprietor." The note was most probably the guess-work of the same English genealogist, who re-wrote it in the Herald Office (A.D. 1600) pedigree and notes—the blunders of which document we have previously exposed.

Conor Fionn had been the ruler of the Sept for about eighteen years. He was the last Chieftain who succeeded to anything like the power and resources of his predecessors in the West since A.D. 1260. His adherents were strong enough to prevent any interference with the "regrant" which secured for his eldest son, Donogh—then only 10 years of age—the inheritance of his possessions. The adoption of the English Law of Primogeniture, whatever may have been its advantages, had certainly the effect

⁸⁰ State paper of 1588 in "Life of Florence McCarthy Mor," p. 33.

of diminishing the power and importance of the Sept during the troubled period between 1592 and 1602. During that decade it had neither a leader nor a figurehead, and consequently obtained less prominence in the Irish and English accounts of the time than other septs whose resources were inferior. The successor by Tanist Law⁸¹ was Conogher "Bhade" (Δν βάρο ?), who had married the daughter of O'Mahony of Carbery. But Conogher Bhade being excluded by the "surrender and regrant" from the castles, lands and rents that were attached from time immemorial to the office of Chieftain, was reduced to a mere "nominis umbra"; and his existence is known only from the genealogies; he is not mentioned in the history of the times. The English Government did not omit to take advantage of one of the "incidents" of feudal tenure in order to bring the sept more completely under its control. According to an entry in the *Calendar of State Papers* for the year 1597, "Sir Geoffrey Fenton obtained from the Crown a grant of the custody, wardship and marriage of Donogh, son of Conor O'Mahon, alias O'Mahon Fionn, late of Ardentynan." But the legal power thus taken and intended to be availed of, if circumstances should permit or require, appears not to have been exercised. Young Donogh was in Ivagha three years after, though still a minor; for he must be the O'Mahon Fionn whom Carew, in his letter to the Privy Council (dated April, 1600), mentions with some other Chiefs described as "friends," i.e., relatives of Florence McCarthy,⁸² of whom the Government was becoming suspicious. It was not unusual at that period to allow minors, after being formally claimed as wards, to live with their own families. Florence McCarthy, when a minor, was permitted to live at home instead of being sent to Dublin or domesticated with Sir W. Drury, who obtained a right to his wardship.⁸³

In 1598, six weeks after O'Neill's great victory of Aug. 14th, a strong force despatched by him under Tyrell arrived in Munster (Oct. 3rd), and Cecyll was informed that "the very day they set foot in the Province, Munster to a man was in arms before noon." The Earl of Ormond mustered the Queen's troops, diminished by the desertion of two hundred Irish, and marched to Mallow. Only one Irish Chief came to the assistance of the English Government in its hour of need. "Thither came McCarthy Reagh with sixty foot and forty horse, all furnished." (Ormond's Journal, Oct. 14th.) That was all McCarthy could raise in his own immediate tribeland, and he could not influence the West Cork Clans, who judged for themselves what cause they would support by their forces; the epithet "vassal" clans applied to them by Professor W. F. Butler was inaccurate and unhistorical. This circumstance may serve as a commentary on McC. Glas's remark in his *Life of Florence*:—"How important it was to the Government to secure the services of the Sept of McCarthy." From Mallow, Ormond marched to Cork (Journal, Oct. 17th), where "McC.

⁸¹ For that reason the square mark indicating Chieftaincy is placed near his name in the Harleian MS. pedigree, which, however, represents him as an illegitimate son of Donal, a former Chieftain, but the Carew (Lambeth) document, a better authority, contradicts this opinion.

⁸² His mother (Conor Fionn's first wife) having been McCarthy Reagh's daughter, he was a cousin of Florence. If then in custody as a ward, he would not be mentioned with possible confederates. Carew's reference could not be to Conogher "Bhade," whose son, but not himself, is mentioned (Harleian MS.) as "alive in 1600."

⁸³ McCarthy (Glas), *Life of Florence*, p. 13.

Reagh delivered his son Fynin as a pledge for himself, Conor O'Driscoll (son of Sir Finin) and O'Donovan till they delivered their own pledge"—which they never sent. It is significant that he could not speak for the O'Mahony Sept, but Ormond went through the form of ordering that "all the rest in Carbery send in their pledges within three days"—an order not complied with.

In 1600, March 6th, when O'Neill fixed his camp at Inniscarra, he was visited by some representatives of the Western O'Mahony Sept, as well as by Moelmoe, head of the eastern Sept; the *Annals of the F. M.* speak of them in the plural, "Thither came . . . the O'Mahonys," &c., &c. This event marked out the western clan for the attentions of Sir Henry Power,⁸⁴ then President of Munster, who describes his retaliation in his letter to the Privy Council on April 30th, 1600. "I sent in the beginning of April a thousand men (under Captain Flower) into Carbery, with directions either to waste it or to take assurance of the freeholders at their first entry. They took a great prey and killed divers of the O'Mahons, the principal men of that part (i.e., of Carbery)." Captain Flower, in his own account,⁸⁵ does not give exactly the same description of his exploits in Ivagha. After stating how he "killed many of the churles and poor people in O'Donovan's country, not leaving a grain of corn within ten miles," he adds: "Having spoiled Clan Dermot, and upon our march into O'Mahon Fionn's country, I had certain intelligence that Florence McCarthy had prepared 1,800 men to intercept me on my return. I returned to Ross." Possibly the guerilla warfare of the clansmen against his superior force had something to do with his change of mind. A specimen of his skill in placing his retrograde movements in a favourable light in his reports may be seen in Mr. McCarthy Glas's *Life of Florence*, p. 240. It is significant that though Sir H. Power says he took with him a thousand men, Hugh Cuffe⁸⁶ writes that "Captain Flower returned from Carbery with 680 foot and 80 horse." Joshua Aylmer,⁸⁷ one of their officers, reports that the foot, which so valiantly killed O'Donovan's "poor churles" (non-combatants), "retired most shamefully with little less than running away," when charged by Dermot O'Connor's kerne near Ballinhassig, a fortnight after those exploits in West Carbery. (Aylmer to Cecil, April 21st, 1600.) Carew, who succeeded Power about the beginning of May, improved on the tactics of his predecessors, who made raids on tribelands at a time when the corn was not ripe. He ordered his officers to wait "in their garrisons in or near the rebels' land" until August, and then to destroy their corn instead of encountering them in battle. The result of these warlike tactics was that the "O'Maghons and O'Crowleys were thoroughly broken and were unable to hold up their heads next year." (*Pacata Hibernia*, Bk. i. p. 138.) The writer goes on to say that they sued for peace through Sir R. Percy, who commanded in Kinsale, and obtained "Her Majesty's protection, which being granted they remained loyal subjects until the Spanish

⁸⁴ Sir R. Percy, commander at Kinsale, invaded Kinelmeiky, the tribeland of the Eastern Sept, on the following November. (Vid. *supra*, Jan.-March, 1609, p. 9.)

⁸⁵ See the State paper, "A Brief Note of Capt. Flower's Journey into Carbery, April 1st, 1600," in the "Life of Florence McCarthy," p. 242.

⁸⁶ Op. citat. p. 244.

⁸⁷ Op. citat. p. 243. The writer explains his success in the skirmish, notwithstanding the "faint courage of the foot."

came." The above passages have been erroneously understood of the "O'Maghons"⁸⁸ of Kinelmeky, whom the same Sir Percy, about two months after, invaded as rebels under no protection. Next year, 1601, according to the *Calendar of State Papers*, Sir George Carew obtained "a grant of the custody, wardship and marriage of Donal, (second son of Conor O'Mahon,⁸⁹ late of Ardentynan." A.D. 1601 was the year of the Spanish Invasion; Don Juan de Aquila's fleet entered Kinsale Harbour on Sept. 23rd. As is plainly implied in the passage quoted from the *Pacata Hibernia*, the Ivagha Clan, shattered though it was by the events above narrated, sent a contingent under some one of its principal men to Kinsale.

After the disaster at Kinsale, though most of their neighbours submitted to Carew, the Clan of Ivagha still held out. They garrisoned two of their Castles that appeared to be best fitted for defence, Leamcon and Dunmanus. Carew despatched to the West (March 19th, 1602, new style) one of the Irish Chiefs that aided him at Kinsale, Donogh O'Brien, Earl of Thomond. The "Instructions for the Earl of Thomond," given in page 517 of the *Pacata Hibernia*, are as follows:—" . . . The service you are to perform is to do all your endeavour to burn the rebels' corn in Carbery (which included Ivagha), Beare and Bantry, take their cows, and use all hostile persecution upon the persons of the people as in such cases of rebellion is accustomed. Those that are in subjection or lately protected, as O'Driscoll, O'Donovan, and Sir Owen McCarthy's sons, to afford them all kind and mild usage." Another passage of the *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 505, referring to those who submitted, says:—"As for Sir Fynn O'Driscoll, O'Donovan, and the two sons of Sir Owen McCarthy, they and their followers, since their coming in (submitting), are grown very odious to the rebels of those parts, and are so well divided in factions amongst themselves, &c., &c."

From the same author we learn that on May 26th, when the Earl of Thomond was besieging Dunboy, he despatched a foraging party to Dunmanus, whence he succeeded in bringing off a "prey of three score and six cows with a great many garrans" (p. 544). On the 4th of next month a body of soldiers "went to Dunmanus Castle, which was held and guarded by the rebels, which they surprised and kept the same, killed four of the guard" (p. 546). The troops were accompanied to Dunmanus by Owen O'Sullivan and his brothers (sons of the late Sir Owen), who always sided with the English, earning for themselves and their posterity the sobriquet of "galldha" (ghoula). It is difficult to understand the story of a "surprise," seeing that the upper rooms in which the defenders were are completely inaccessible from the ground floor and vault. What Carew would have termed "a surprise" may be known from the stratagem he planned for taking Blarney Castle in the absence of its owner. Sir Charles Wilmot, with only a sergeant's guard of two dozen men, presenting the appearance of attendants, was directed to go beyond Blarney "to hunt the wild deer," and on returning, as if wearied by the chase, to stop at the Castle, ask for refreshments, and overpower the guard. This un-

⁸⁸ So the name is always spelled in the "Pacata Hibernia."

⁸⁹ In the *Calendar* "Donal O'M., late of Ardentynane"—a mistake, as the late owner of that Castle was "Conor O'M."

knightly plot to take advantage of the well-known Irish hospitality was foiled by the suspiciousness of McCarthy's warders, who perhaps may have heard of a similar plan being employed two months before at Dunmanus. (*Pac. Hibern.*, p. 599.)

On the fourth day after Dunboy Castle was blown up, according to the *Pacata Hibernia*, the Castle of Leamcon, "which the rebels warded," was taken by Captain Roger Harvey's Company. This was the most defensible of the Ivagha Castles, situate as it was on a small peninsula approachable only by a narrow neck of land, about six feet wide. We are not told how long the siege continued. The western wall of the castle near its base, by its deeply indented condition (shown distinctly in the photograph reproduced facing page 122), bears evidence that the besieging instrument called "the Sow" was brought to bear on it, and that much progress was made towards opening a breach. The defenders, doubtless, lacked an adequate supply of powder—the chief want experienced by the Irish in the Co. Cork. Three years previously Lords Barry and Roche complained that they had no powder in their castles, and Ormond "gave them a small quantity." Dunboy was an exception, for it had been supplied with ordnance and powder by the Spanish general.

The owner of the Castle of Leamcon, at the time of the siege, was Conogher O'M., son of Daniel, son of Finin Caol, a former chieftain of Ivagha (*vid. supra*). He and his warders, on surrendering the Castle, received quarter, which Carew would not grant before the fall of Dunboy. This may be inferred from a document in the *Pacata Hibernia* (p. 428), "A list of those who shipped themselves to Spain on July 7th, 1602," in which we find the name of "Conor O'M. of Leamcon, one of the O'Mahons of Ivagha."

On the last day of June, Carew set out on his return journey to Cork, leaving six garrisons in Carbery, one of them being at Abbeystrowry, not far from the boundary of Ivagha. He considered the insurrection now at an end, but in his journey through Carbery he found that he was mistaken:—"Those that were before distracted had received new life, and made fast combinations to hold out till expected aid from Spain should arrive." "All this alteration" he soon found "did arise from the arrival of Owen Mac Egan (Bishop-elect of Ross), who brought with him Spanish treasure" and a promise of another Spanish expedition. The Spanish money was distributed among the Irish leaders; the portion intended for the Ivagha insurgents was probably conveyed to them by a member of their clan, "Donnell O'Mahon," who came over with Owen Mac Egan (*Pac. Hibernia*, p. 429), and returned to Spain on July 7th. The list of those who received the Spanish money was given in the *Pacata Hibernia* on the testimony of Owen O'Sullivan's wife, who was kept as a hostage in Dunboy by O'Sullivan Beare's orders, and was there when Owen Mac Egan landed at Ardea, June 6th.⁹⁰ Neither before or after her liberation, at the fall of the castle, would she be entrusted with Irish secrets, being the wife of a bitter enemy.

Within ten days after Carew's departure all the western insurgents had re-formed their combination. They were attacked and harassed by

⁹⁰ She had, therefore, no opportunity of seeing his meeting with the Irish leaders. Her assertion that O'Donovan got a portion of the money is intrinsically incredible, as he had become a loyalist and remained so.

Captain Roger Harvey, who had the chief command of the six garrisons, "who took their preys and had the killing of many of their men; besides he took from them divers castles, strongly seated near unto the sea, where ships might safely ride, and fit places for an enemy to hold, as, viz., the Castles of Dunmanus, Leamcon, &c." (*Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 584-585.) From this passage and its context it is plain that the O'Mahons of Ivagha, after Carew's departure, regained possession of the two Castles they had lost, and that some time before the renewed struggle ended, they were again dislodged. The want of ammunition could not be supplied in Ireland by Spanish gold. The Insurrection came to a close in the following January (1603) at the skirmish in Grillagh, where Teig O'Mahon distinguished himself, and where the lion-hearted Owen Mac Egan was killed. (O'S. Beare, *Hist. Cath. Hiberniae*, p. 243.)

On March 10th of the troubled year 1602, Donogh O'Mahon, the nominal head of a leaderless Clan, still under age, died at Ardintennane Castle. He had married the daughter of O'Donovan in the previous year. His brother Donal, also under age, succeeded him. As these brothers were too young to have taken part personally in the Rising, and as they were minors and "wards," their territory was secured from forfeiture. From the Inquisition held about his father's property in 1612, we learn that Donal, on the death of his brother, immediately entered into the possession of his lands and effects—a proof that though a ward of Carew's he had not been removed from his home. In the reign of James I. this could not happen. The grantee of a ward (under the Court of Wards, founded by Bacon's advice as "a means to weed out Popery") was required "to maintain and educate the minor in the English religion and habits in Trinity College, Dublin."

From Donal's accession down to the Confiscation in 1650 the history of the Clan is little more than a record of continuous decay. An exodus took place to France and Spain of the principal men of the Sept, who were compromised in the Rebellion, and of the clansmen who were brought to destitution by the burnings and pillagings their land had undergone in the three preceding years. The majority of the refugees of the Co. Cork tribes went to Spain, where they were most hospitably received by the King and the Spanish nobles, and the Bishops. From such refugees the King formed an Irish Legion, which was commanded successively by Henry and John, sons of Hugh O'Neill, and which won great distinction in Flanders. It is not generally known that the first *Irish Brigade*—a celebrated name in the military history of Europe, was formed in the King of Spain's service. The Irish nobles and gentlemen, while waiting for Commissions in the Army, had pensions assigned to them and paid monthly (O'S. Beare's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 262, Dublin Ed).⁹¹ An English spy in 1606 sent a report (*Cal. State Papers*, 1606) that among the "Gentlemen Pensioners" in the army of the King of Spain as yet without a command were—"Conogher O'Mahon, Teig na Bally O'Mahon, Donal O'Mahon."

⁹¹ *Ingens turba in Galliam, longe major in Hispaniam confluit. In eos Rex Hispaniae tanto fuit amore ut vix ullus possit oratione complecti quantum illi debeant . . . nobilioribus menstruos nummos vectigales pro sua cuique conditione assignavit. Ex illis in Gallia Belgica Legionem conscribi jussit quae prius sub Henrico filio O'Neillii principis, &c. (O'Sullivan Beare, Don Philip, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 262.)* That author and his brother and a cousin were officers in the Spanish Navy.

In all probability the first-named was the dispossessed owner of Leamcon Castle, who has been already mentioned as a refugee. The names of many others of their kindred would, doubtless, be found in the Archives of the Spanish Army and Navy for the seventeenth century, and especially for the years succeeding the Cromwellian Confiscation.

The necessities of the new Chieftain, and also of his kinsmen the other landowners of Ivagha, in consequence of the devastations and the loss of their old resources already described, are plainly indicated by the letting of their lands, sometimes for a long term of years, to strangers. Donal is shown, by the Inquisitions⁹² held about his father's and his own property, to have had in his own possession the three Castles of Ardintennane, Ballydevlin and Dunlogh (Three Castles Head), with the ploughlands that went with them, receiving "chiefries" from the owners of the other castles. In 1607 he let Ardintennane,⁹³ with nine ploughlands attached, to one Thomas Holland for "a term of years" (Inquisition), and on the expiration of the term he appears to have let it again to one Sir Geoffrey Galway. He chose Ballydevlin Castle as his permanent residence. This is a suitable occasion for exposing a misleading source of information regarding that locality and the West Coast generally. Speed's Map ("one of Speed's bad maps," to quote Smith's criticism) represents Ivagha—spelled by him "Eragh"—as not including the peninsula of Kilmoe, and places an imaginary tribe, "O'Connor," at Ballydevlin and its vicinity. Speed can never have visited that coast, as he almost fills Roaring Water Bay with islands of about the same shape, there being no "Long Island" among them. The townlands of Kilmoe are fully known from the numerous Inquisitions, and there was certainly in it no such tribe or such place-name as "O'Connor." Perhaps having heard that the place was occupied by "Donal Mac Conór" (O'M.), Speed changed the name "Mac Conór" into "O'Connor," as Mac Carthy has been found written "O'Carthy in some State Papers.

In 1627 Dunlogh Castle ("Three Castle Head"), with the ploughlands of Dunlogh, Kildunlogh, and three others, was let to one Coghlan, who in a later document appears to have divided his rights to the land with Boyle, Earl of Cork.

In the numerous Government Inquisitions held between 1612 and 1637

⁹² Besides the "Inquisitions" held about the two Chieftains, Conór and his son Donal, the following are preserved in the Record Office. All were taken in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. :—

- No. 286. Mahon O'Mahon.
- " 212. Finin Mac Conogher Mac David O'Mahon.
- " 214. Teig O'Mahon.
- " 285. Donal O'Mahon.
- " 202. Finin Mac Conogher Geancagh O'Mahon.
- " 317. Donogh O'Mahon.
- " 353. Dermot Mac David O'Mahon.
- " 420. Teig O'Mahon.
- " 478. Thaddæus Leigh Mac Donal O'Mahon.
- " 439. Finin Geancagh O'Mahon.
- " 496. Dermot O'Mahon.
- David O'M. of Leamcon.
- Teig O'M. of Ballyrisode.

⁹³ The name of the Castle is generally spelled by Carew "Ardintynan," and as he generally spelled phonetically, the Irish name was most probably *Δρυς ἡν ἐτραῖνεῖται*, the height of the thunderbolt.

about the different proprietors of Ivagha, cousins of the Chieftain, they are all recognised as owners in fee simple. Neither Leamcon nor Dunmanus was forfeited by the action of their defenders during the "Rebellion"; they were held to be the property of the young Chief, who was a minor, and thus of his successor, through whom, probably, the next-of-kin of those defenders succeeded to those Castles and lands. In 1622 the two representatives of Conor O'M. of Leamcon (owner at the time of the siege), leased to Sir William Hull, the one six and the other seven ploughlands for fifty and thirty-four years, respectively.

A brief account will now be given of the territory of the minor sept (called after a "Teig" who lived before 1400), "Sliocht Teig O'Mahowne," so often referred to in State papers. Of "the thirty-six ploughlands," Donogh O'M. of Skeaghanore (a ploughland not of the Sliocht) held twenty-two in 1602; Teig O'M. of Ballyrisode, held four, and some others held, severally, the remaining ten. After the death of Donogh, and during the minority of his son, Dermod, then only six years old, the all-grasping Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, seized the lands in 1615 on the plea that he purchased them from one Donogh McCarthy, who alleged that they were "sold to him twenty years before by the uncle of the deceased Donogh O'Mahon." Boyle, in his diary of April 16th, 1616, writes of having given some timber "from my woods in the lands of Sliocht Teig O'Mahowne." He sold the lands, doubtless at a good profit, to one Morgan Peake, against whom a Chancery suit was instituted on behalf of Dermod in 1623. The Chancery Bill states that plaintiff is Dermod O'M., of Skeaghanore, gentleman, . . . whose ancestors held quiet possession for two hundred and forty years," and sets forth his demand with great minuteness. We don't know the details of the case, or the "order made in 1628" (*Cal. State Papers*), but the presumption is against Boyle's bona fides. It would not be the first of his shady transactions. Florence McCarthy Mor complained in the Tower that he was a sufferer by "Boyle's tricks." And the Earl of Ormond had some time before written that "Boyle had been the means of overthrowing many of Her Majesty's subjects by finding false titles to their lands and turning them out." Dermod O'M. recovered some of his land at all events, for in the *Book of Survey and Distribution* (1657) we find him having eleven hundred acres at Ardura, which was in the Sliocht Teig's territory. Dermod's family was known in Ivagha as "O'M. of Muscrigh" (Muskerry), some one of his ancestors having been fostered by one of his namesakes in West Muskerry.

In 1616 an arbitrary act of James I. displayed his utter disregard for the rights which the Irish Chiefs had acquired by "surrender and regrant," and must have spread a sense of insecurity through every tribe-land in the County Cork. This was his grant to a favoured Scotchman (one Sir James Sempell) of the lands of Kilbrittain, and many other ploughlands which Mac Carthy Reagh held by Letters Patent, of a great part of Ivagha, including Ardintennane, and nine ploughlands of which O'Mahon's father, the former chief, got a re-grant in 1593, and of several "chiefries," those of "Sliocht Teig O'Mahowne," and others. There is evidence, however, that the grant was not put into execution. Its impolicy, perhaps, rather than its flagrant illegality and dishonesty, weighed with the King's ad-

visers, on reconsideration, and caused it to be left in abeyance.⁹⁴ In none of the Ivagha Inquisitions is there any mention of a head rent, or rent, to Sempell or to his assignees being a charge on the lands.

In this connection, it may be stated that neither is there mention made in any of the above Inquisitions of the chieftry called "The Earls' Beeves," which is admitted in one of O'Driscoll's Inquisitions, and in one of Mac Carthy Reagh's. An Earl of Desmond had probably sometime in the 14th century succeeded in imposing a tribute of a hundred beeves on Carbery, or the most of it. After Desmond's attainder the Government continued to exact this "slavish tax," as Cox calls it in his *Regnum Corcagiense*. As Ivagha appears to have escaped paying any portion of it, the Chief did not attend a meeting held about 1610 by the principal men in the West to obtain remission of the tax. There is nothing else to record about Clan or Chieftain until Oct. 23rd, 1641. Nicholas Browne, an undertaker, who knew the Irish well, warns the Privy Council of England, in Elizabeth's reign, that "they (the Irish) are expecting from tyme to tyme to take advantage to recover the lands of their ancestors, and to expell the English." Such an opportunity seemed to be presented by the dissension between Charles I. and the Parliament in 1641. It has been sought to represent this Insurrection as a war of Catholics against Protestants, and not of despoiled Irishmen against English Planters. A different and truer view of it was expressed by Lord Castlehaven, a contemporary witness, and by Lord Clarendon, witness of a similar movement in 1685; "the contest," writes Clarendon to Rochester, "is not so much about religion as between English and Irish, and that is the truth." Professor Mahaffy, in *An Epoch of Irish History*, thinks it noteworthy that the day selected for the outbreak, Oct. 23rd, was St. Ignatius' Day—"very significant as showing Jesuit influences." He found a mare's nest; the Feast of St. Ignatius, founder of the Jesuits, is July 31st. If he read the history of South Munster, he would have known that in 1261, when Normans and Celts worshipped at the same altars, the Irish "rose against the English adventurers, burned twelve castles and killed their English warders."⁹⁵ (O'Donovan's Note to Four M., year 1261.)

Though there had been no general confiscation in Ivagha, Rosbrin had been confiscated, with its nine ploughlands, and Dunbeacon, with its three ploughlands. Sir W. Hull occupied Dunbeacon, and year by year was acquiring leasehold interests from impoverished landholders, and thus greatly encroached on the tribeland. As an undertaker he probably had the highly unpopular qualities of that class, which, according to Camden, were the principal cause of the rising in Munster in 1598. By his own account, given in his "Depositions," all Ivagha seems to have besieged him and his retainers at Crookhaven, and his sons at Leamcon, and taken his culverin and his goods. Though he claims to have repelled the "rebels,"

⁹⁴ The two O'Donovans of the time bargained with the Scotch adventurer for a share of his grant, and he procured for them Patents giving them the above head-rents. But these Patents also were soon set aside. That of O'Donovan Na Carton is not mentioned at all in his Inquisition. (Appendix to "Annals F. M.," p. 2,473.)

⁹⁵ Religious liberty, taken away by so many English Statutes since 1536, was, of course, one motive of the insurrections of 1598 and 1641, but the assumption that but for the religious differences the Irish would make no effort to recover their lands, does not show much knowledge of human nature.

he goes on to say that he and his staff got on board an English ship and sailed to a place of security. He bestows the name of "robbers" on the leaders of the Sept, who, no doubt, when they spoke of him, returned the compliment. He mentions as his "chief robbers" great O'Mahowne alias O'M. Foone (Fionn), of Kilmoe, in the Barony of Ivagha, gent., Denis Ruadh O'Mahowne, Lord of the Castell of Dunmanus, gent., and others." Towards the end he mentions "Dermod Merriga (Mergeach) O'M., of Gubbeyne," who bore a sobriquet usual in the Kerry branch of the O'M. at that period. "Great O'Mahon"—a term also used by Cox—is a rather crude translation of "O'Mahon More," analogous to O'Sullivan More and McCarthy More; the epithet being always given to the head of the senior of two septs of the same name.

When Hull and the occupant of Rosbrin and some other planters had taken their departure, the members of the Clan helped the insurrection in other localities. Hence, besides the Chief, Donal, and Donogh of Dunmanus Castle, the following were outlawed at Youghal in Aug., 1642 (as transcribed from a MS. in British Museum, Add. 4772):—

- "O'Mahowne, Kean of Geary, gentleman.
- „ Dermod of Skeaghanore, alias O'M. of Muscridge, gentleman.
- „ Conor, of Leamcon, do.;
- „ Kean alias O.M., of Ballinskeagh, do.
- „ Florence, of Arderavingy, do.
- „ Conogher Mac Finin, of Gortranully, do.
- „ Conogher alias O'M. Mac Idwyilia, do.
- „ McDermod Finin, of Knockiculleen, do.
- „ McDermod John Mac Teig, of Long Island, do."

The outlawry had no effect until the end of 1649. At some date within that period of seven years Donal died, and was succeeded by his son Conor, the last O'Mahon Fionn, who in a short time became a mere titular Chief. The *Book of Survey and Distribution* and *The Down Survey* give the remainder of the history of the broken clan, though for some reason or other best known to the compilers, fully one-third of the confiscated proprietors, including many of those in the above list, are not mentioned. "Dermod of Skeaghanore, Irish Papist, forfeited 1,460 acres." A Dermod of Kilcrohane 284 acres, and in Durrus an O'M. named "Mac an doille" 646 acres. The family of Dunmanus lost 1,600, and the family of Leamcon⁹⁶ 1,240 acres. The then nominal Chief, Conor, is described as living in Ballydevlin Castle. Tradition tells that he and the nominal Chief of Kinelmeky met at some assembly of the Irish, and that a tribal bard, impressed by the occasion, composed an elegy, which was preserved in the beginning of the last century, but of which now only the two introductory lines survive:—

O Maṭṭṣarṇna an Iarṭair, aṣur tiṣearṇna Cineál mbéice
Beirṭ do bí ṡ' tiṣearṇair 'r anoir aṣ iarrairṡ béirce.

From the destitution at home which the bard laments they doubtless sought refuge in Spain. So also did many of the other proprietors of

⁹⁶ In the lands that were attached to Leamcon there is an ancient Columbarium, now in a ruinous condition.

Ivagha, but some remained in the condition of tenants on the freeholds they once held. One of these was the son of Dermod of Skeaghanore, who lived on a farm in Ardura, part of the Sliocht Teig lands, his father's property. He made his will in 1719 (now in Record Office), which, though then aged, he signed in a clear distinct hand, "Kean O'Mahon"—which shows that the present form of the surname was not then in use in the West. He leaves to his children "the Irish interest I had in this ploughland (of Ardura) if it ever be restored," bequeathing a hope doomed to disappointment.

At the time of the Down Survey (1657) nearly all the Castles⁹⁷ were untenanted and described as "ruinous." The ancient name, Ivagha, survived while the Irish language was spoken in the district. (This Journal, vol ii., p. 235.)

A summary of the principal points which have been established by the citation of original sources may now be given. It has been shown that (1) the Sept was the first of the Eoghanacht Clans, descended from Corc, that formed a separate existence; that (2) from the beginning of the sixth century its Chief ruled from Rath Rathleann the territory from Cork to the Mizen Head, including Kinelea called after its tribe-name; (3) that the tribeland became the Diocese of Cork in the ecclesiastical organisation of the country; (4) that two of the Chieftains became Kings of Munster; (5) that its predominance in South Munster continued until the twelfth century; (6) that the division into the Eastern and Western Sept took place about the middle of the thirteenth century. Neither of the two branches ever sided with the English against their fellow-countrymen during the long struggle which ended in 1603.

⁹⁷ Amongst the others in Ivagha the "Survey" mentions "Castle Isle," in an island close to the Chief's residence, Andintennane. Lewis ("Topogr. Dict.") erroneously says that this was built by the O'Donovans. His conjectures as to the dates when the other O'Mahony Castles were built are equally erroneous. The islands now called the "Skeams" were anciently named "East and West Inniskean." They belonged to Ivagha, being part of the endowment of the See of Cork, as we learn from Dive Downes, who had access to the old Archives of the See.

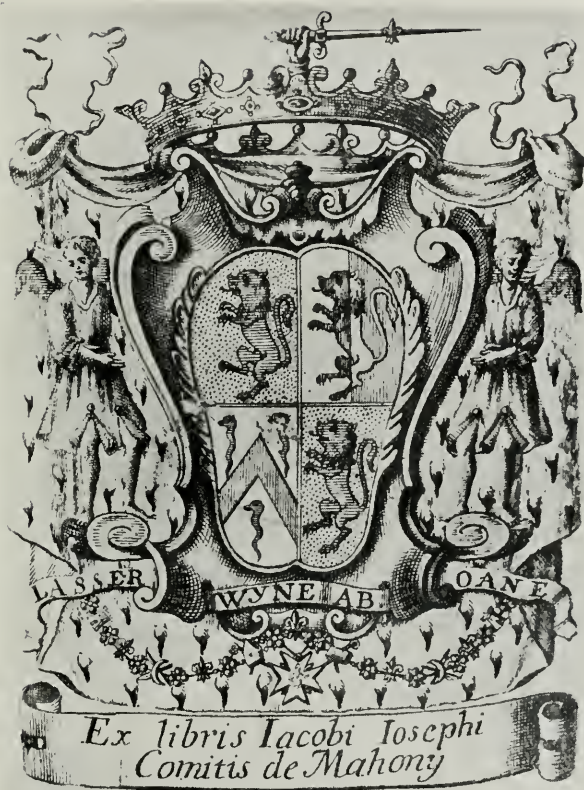
ADDENDA.

1.—The "Féilire of Oengus" (ob. circa 840), under the 8th of December, mentions "Tech Saxan in Hui-Eachach Mumhan." This is Tisassan, about a mile and a half south-west of Kinsale, which is thus shown to have been in the Ui Eachach Tribeland.

2.—From the ancient Latin "Life of S. Carthagus" it appears that St. Dimma, who flourished half a century before St. Finbar, was the first Bishop of Cork. See "Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae." Edidit Carolus Plummer, 1910, p. 183. "He was the son of Cormac of the tribe of Eacaidh"; this Cormac was the brother of the Chieftain Aedh Uargarbh (a quo Cineal Aodha), ancestor of Mahon. "Et dixit Carthagus Exi cito ad regionem Hui Eachach," &c., &c. "Go at once, to the land of the Ui Eachach in South Munster, for there will be your resurrection, and your own tribe will have an internecine warfare if you do not arrive in time to hinder it. And Bishop Dimma went to his own country . . . and preaching the Divine precept made peace among them; and he built a monastery in his own country, which he offered with all his 'parochia' to S. Carthagus," who, however, is not said to have accepted the offer. Dimma died ministering as Bishop in Ui Eachach Mumhan, i.e., the tribeland which after St. Finbar's time began to be called the Diocese of Cork.

3.—According to the Carew Calendar, 1592, a "composition for cesse" was signed by two proprietors in Ivagha in Sept., 1592. There was then no Chieftain, as Conor Fionn died in March, and his son was a minor.

4.—As regards the islands now "The Skeams," Dive Downes, who knew and used the modern name, found the name "Inniskean" in the ancient rolls of the Diocese of Cork, which are allowed to be "ancient and authentic" (Bishop Lyons, in 1588). The name is not in the "Geneal. of Corcalaidhe," but is in McC. Reagh's Inquisition; it implies the ownership of some Cian of the Ivagha Sept, and it passed to Corcalaidhe by some marriage arrangement, probably that of Finin of Rosbrin's daughter.

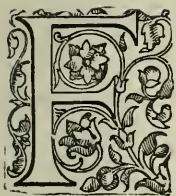


W. J. Smith. Sculp.

BOOKPLATE OF COUNT JAMES JOSEPH O'MAHONY.

HISTORY OF THE O'MAHONY SEPT.

THE KERRY BRANCH.



FROM the two principal lines of Chieftains descended from Mahon, five Minor Septs or Families (as has been shown in Part V., page 98) branched off between the middle of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth. In the number above quoted, an account was given of the three Minor Septs that were seated in West Muskerry, the two others being "more conveniently reserved for the concluding portion of this History."

Dermod Mor, Chieftain of Ivagha, who was alive, according to the "Munster Annals," in A.D. 1319, and is said to have died in 1327, arranged, before his death, that Rosbrin Castle¹ and eighteen ploughlands along with it should be given to his two sons, Donal and Dermod. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Finin. The new Chieftain refused to carry out the provision made for his brothers. Donal and Dermod decided to leave Ivagha, taking with them whatever they possessed and some² personal adherents amongst the clansmen. Dermod "went to Desmond" (a name then confined to MacCarthy More's country in Kerry), and received a hospitable welcome and a settlement from MacCarthy More, who from the interest he took in the two brothers, is considered to have been a relative of the late Chieftain of Ivagha. Donal, the elder of the two, went to Barrett's Country, of which MacCarthy Mor was then overlord,³ and most probably by MacCarthy's authority or influence obtained all or some of the ploughlands of the small parish of Kilnaglory. The tribal genealogists of Ivagha kept track of the descendants of the two refugee brothers, as may be seen in Genealogical Table No. III. (supra) under the headings of "O'Mahony of Kilnaglory" and "O'Mahony of the Sliocht Dermod Og of Desmond."

There are no materials known to the present writer for an account of the Kilnaglory sub-sept before the date of its extinction. We learn from an Irish Geneal. MS. (23 G. I., R. I. Acad.) that the last head of this family, a contemporary of the last, or nominal, Chieftain of Ivagha (1650), was David O'Mahony, and we find in the "Census of 1659" that there were twelve bearing that surname in Kilnaglory Parish, together with some "McDaniels and McShanes," most probably of that same surname, which was omitted according to colloquial usage, as e.g., MacCarthy of Blarney

¹ *Fuarannamur gur pás an ádair a cur Ror dhoin asur oét fearainn deas . . . asur níor faoin fínín gc., dá bhuí rin do fagasadh an tír. Do cuair Diaimuro go Dearmáin go MacCárta, asur fuadh fáilte asur fórtá, gc. (MS. 23, E. 26, R. I. Acad.).*

² So expressly the MS. quoted.

³ See MacCarthy Glas, "Life of Florence," page 33, quoting State Papers.

in 1578 called himself and was called by others, "Cormac Mac Teig." No persons of the name O'Mahony appear among the dispossessed freeholders of Kilnaglory in the Cromwellian "Book of Survey and Distribution," and it may be inferred that their freeholds were forfeited after O'Neill's "Rebellion" in 1601. There is evidence that among the citizens of Cork in 1640-1650 there were a good many O'Mahonys. This is plainly implied in Bruodin's⁴ narration of the awfully barbarous execution of Francis O'Mahony, Superior of the Cork Franciscans, ordered by the Governor of Cork in 1652. It may be presumed that most of those citizens referred to came into Cork from Kilnaglory, which was in its immediate vicinity, and this presumption becomes a moral certainty as regards those families which during the following century kept up the Christian name of David, which was not known among their namesakes of Kinelmeky and Muskerry. In striking contrast to the comparative obscurity of the race of Donal of Kilnaglory, his younger brother's posterity—

THE KERRY BRANCH,

had a prosperous and distinguished career. Dermot's descendants gradually acquired a large extent of land, and had multiplied so considerably that (as we shall see later on), in a State Paper of the Tudor times,⁵ they are described as a "populous Sept." Sept organization, in the strict sense of the term, was of course not possible for them in a Tribeland not their own, but at the period referred to, the Head of the Family was looked up to by his multitudinous kinsmen, and through them wielded considerable influence. The Branch survived the downfall of the parent Septs of Ivagha and Kinelmeky, and of the Sept of MacCarthy More; it did not sink into obscurity even in the Penal Days, and contributed a large number of highly distinguished officers to the Irish Brigade in the service of France and Spain.

The principal authority for the history of this Branch between 1327 and 1680 is an Irish MS. in the O'Reilly collection R. I. Acad., classed 23. E. 26, which is in full accord with (1) the *Leabhar Muimhneach* copied by O'Cronan in 1739, and (2) MS. 23. G. 22. (O'Longan MS.), but is somewhat more detailed than either of the latter, and comes down a generation later in its record of some of the families. It is mainly genealogical, but contains several historical statements also. A comparison of this document with other sources or information, namely, (1) Inquisitions, (2) other State Papers, (3) Dublin Chancery records, (4) O'Rahilly's poems, and (5) the special pedigrees of some of the officers of the Irish Brigade (recorded by M. Cherin, vol. vi., 649), establishes beyond question its thoroughgoing and minute accuracy. The MS. known as the "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," written about 1750, and published for the first time in the "Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal," vols. iv. and v., is an authority for the events of the writer's lifetime and of the Cromwellian

⁴Bruodin's "Propugnaculum." See also an account of this barbarity by Lynch (Gratianus Lucius), Card. Moran's "Persecution of Irish Catholics," and "Aphorismical Discovery," &c., a contemporary MS., edited by Gilbert.

⁵Letter of Sir Warham St. Leger to the Privy Council on Florence MacCarthy's marriage, 1588.

period, which he could have heard described by eye-witnesses. But, about Kerry tribal history in the previous centuries, this writer fell into numerous glaring errors, through not having access,⁶ as his Editor remarks, to any of the Irish Annals and other indispensable records. Accurate information about the officers of the Irish Brigade is supplied by O'Callaghan's valuable History, which we shall supplement with some extracts from the Duke De St. Simon's Memoirs.

Dermod Og O'Mahony, who left Ivagha in 1327, was alive in "Desmond" in the year 1355; we have no record of the exact date of his death. His only son, Seán (John), married the daughter of Aodh O'Connell, and had a son, Dermot, who was "alive in 1442," and married Sabia, daughter of O'Sullivan Mór of Dunkerron. He had two sons, Conobar (Conor) and Donal. Conor is alluded to in a document of the year 1471, as then living, and married the daughter of Geoffrey O'Donoghue, granddaughter of a former MacCarthy More.⁷ His son was Tadhg (Teig), who flourished in the reign of Henry VIII., when Lord Deputy Grey was commissioned to obtain, as best he could, by threats or diplomacy, "pledges" or hostages from the Irish Chieftains. In the "Calendar of State Papers" for the year 1538, three documents are referred to as containing an account of Lord Grey's proceedings, the articles agreed on, the names of the Chiefs and the hostages; they are preserved in the British Museum, and have not been examined by the present writer. If Teig O'Mahony's name be mentioned therein as one of the MacCarthy's hostages (as has been alleged), that circumstance would show that he was a near relative of MacCarthy, as a remote cousin would not be taken as a hostage. But, however that may be, certain it is that Teig, now head of the whole Kerry branch, and the inheritor of the accumulations of his predecessors, was a man of very considerable property and influence, and was able to leave each of his sons one or more ploughlands. According to a practice then very usual in Irish Septs, Teig received a sobriquet—the appellation of Mergeach, an appellation which we find in the Annals given to the uncle of Silken Thomas ("Four M.," 1535), to Nial MacSwiney (1575), and to one of the O'Briens. It may mean "angry looking" or "pockmarked" or "freckled," but we cannot now determine which meaning was intended. The word certainly did not mean "wanton," as it was explained (confounding it with "Meranagh" or "Meidhreach") by Sir W. Betham, who hardly ever translated correctly an Irish agnomen. Teig Mergeach O'Mahony died in 1565.⁸ He had married a daughter of Dermot O'Sullivan Beare (ob. 1549), and left eight sons.

Dermod, the eldest son, died some time before 1588. Conor, the

⁶The Editor blundered almost as badly in attempting corrections of the author on Kerry Tribal history. He says in a note that the O'Donoghues and O'Mahonys were driven into Kerry by the English in the middle of the eleventh century! The O'Donoghues migrated from the Co. Cork about 1020, and the O'Mahonys never went as a tribe or part of a tribe to Kerry, as is set forth above.

⁷The dates given in the three preceding sentences are not taken from the Irish MS. Genealogy, which does not give dates or the names of the wives of Dermot Og's successors, but from M. Cherin's MS.; M. Cherin must have been shown documentary evidence for these statements.

⁸M. Cherin's MSS. The name Aedh Meranach, "Aedh the Wanton" (Chron. Scetorum, A.D. 1079, note), probably suggested to Sir W. Betham his mistranslation of Meirgeach,

second son, died in 1578, according to an Inquisition held in 1626 (preserved in the Record Office, Dublin), which declares that "Conogher Mac Teig Mergeach O'Mahony was seized as of fee of the ploughland of Ballyaher, and that John is his son and heir, and is of full age." Dermot, the eldest son, had probably much more land, but his "Inquisition" has not been preserved.

Donal, the third son, was called Donal na Tiobraide, from the property he held in the Tubrid, a district of Iveragh. Owing to the death of his two elder brothers, Donal had become the head of the Kerry branch in or before 1588. In that year he is referred to in a State Paper under the strangely distorted name of Donal Mac Tybert as "the Head of a populous Sept called the Mergies (recte O'Mahony Mergeachs), the Chief officer of MacCarthy More's territory, and the foster father of the yonge ladye" (Ellen, the daughter of MacCarthy More, Earl of Glencar, wife of Florence MacCarthy More).

The English Government sought to prevent the marriage of the heiress of MacCarthy More, Earl of Glencar, and Florence MacCarthy, the Tanist of Carbery, as very injurious to the English interest. Naturally enough, the principal Irish in South Munster favoured the match as likely to consolidate and strengthen Irish power. Sir Warham St. Leger, in a "Tract" sent to Lord Burghley on this subject, reported that "this evil counsel" did proceed from "the Lords of Counties in Desmond and the principal Officers about MacCarthy More"; he then mentions the chief conspirators by name: O'Sullivan Mor, Seneschal of Desmond; Mac Finnin, lord of a lesser country; and Donal na Tubrid, head of the O'Mahony Meirgeachs, "foster father of the yonge ladye." A few weeks after this communication was sent to Burghley, the dreaded marriage took place, and Sir Thomas Norreys wrote to Walsingham on July 1st, 1588: "According to your orders, I have caused to be apprehended the Countess (wife of MacCarthy), Mac Finnin, and ⁹Teig Mergeach (recte Donal na Tubrid, son of Teig Mergeach O'Mahony), as being privy to the practice," i.e., aiders and abettors of the marriage; he goes on to say that he hopes soon to have the other conspirators, including O'Sullivan Mor. Those arrested were imprisoned in Castlemaine, described in another letter as "a vile and unwholesome place."

The "Inquisition" held about Donal's property has not been preserved, so we do not know the date of his death. In the "Book of Survey and Distribution" (A.D. 1657) we find that his grandson,¹⁰ Conogher, and Donal Og MacCarthy had between them 1596 acres in Iveragh, which they lost by confiscation. Several of Donal na Tubrid's grandsons were living in 1680 when the Irish Genealogy (23. E. 26) was made out. From one of these descended Lieut.-Gen. Count Bartholomew O'Mahony¹¹ (of whom

⁹Before this name the words "Donal, son of," must have been accidentally omitted either by Norreys himself or by the printer of his letter as given by Mr. McC. Glas, "Life of Florence"; Teig Mergeach died twenty-three years before the events mentioned in this letter.

¹⁰An inference from the fact that Donal's property was in Iveragh, and that he had a grandson named Conogher (Irish MS. above quoted).

¹¹Cf. his pedigree (given by M. Cherin, and abridged in "Life of the Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade") with the Irish MS. 23 E. 26, which gives the grandsons and great-grandsons of Donal.

more presently) and his uncle, Dr. O'Mahony, "Medicin du Roi" in the time of Louis XV., and a great benefactor of his exiled countrymen. Their family had settled at Knockavola, Kerry.

Finin, fourth son of Tadhg O'Mahony. According to MS. we have been following, Finin had four sons: Dermod and Conor "went to Spain with all their families"; John, who remained in Kerry, had a son who is mentioned as "James the Provincial."

Maolmuadh (Myles), fifth son, and Owen, sixth son of Tadhg O'Mahony, "went to Spain with all their families," most probably at the same time and from the same motive, having been engaged in O'Neill's "Rebellion." More particulars¹² are known about Owen, who appears to have been a man of energy and enterprise. He was a fast friend of the unfortunate Florence MacCarthy More, and it was to his house in Kerry that Florence sent his eldest son when Sir George Carew was endeavouring to find the boy and retain him as a hostage. The "*Pacata Hibernia*" relates that Carew continually "importuned the bringing of his eldest son," and that Florence at one time yielded, and "wrote to Owen Mac Teig Mergeach to bring the child to Cork," but, having got an encouraging message from O'Neill, he changed his mind and requested Owen "to convey the boy back to Desmond" (Kerry). Owen joined O'Neill's campaign, and was in consequence reported to the Government as a "notable rebel" by Teig Hurley, a paid spy. Hurley states in his report that Owen, "despairing of pardon, fled into Spain with O'Sullivan Beare, and entering the King of Spain's service, became his pensioner," i.e., received a monthly pension, as did many of his kinsmen of Ivagha (vid. supra), while waiting for a commission. Maolmuadh (Myles), his elder brother, had, doubtless, the same motive as Owen for seeking refuge in Spain. The spy goes on to report that Owen came from Spain to London to see Florence MacCarthy in the Tower, probably to concert measures for his escape. Owen succeeded in returning to Spain without being discovered, but had the misfortune to lose his son, who came over with him and fell a victim to an epidemic then raging in London. See the spy's Report in Mr. McCarthy Glas's "*Life of Florence MacCarthy More*," p. 403, et seq.

Donogh, the seventh son, is stated (Irish MS. 23. E. 26), to have had two sons—Conor, who "went to the Low Countries," and Kean (Cian), who became the ancestor of the well-known family, the Mahonys of Brosna-Kilmorna. An Exchequer Bill in 1709 describes Kean's grandson, Cornelius Mahony gentleman, as settled in Brosna in A.D. 1699. Down to his (or his father's) time none of the O'Mahony families appear to have settled outside MacCarthy More's portion of Kerry. Brosna was within the Earl of Desmond's territory, and, until the Confiscation of 1584, was occupied by the Earl's Harpers and Bards, subject to the condition of supplying him with necessities, when he passed that way (Carew Calendar, A.D. 1572). The author of the "*History of the Kingdom of Kerry*" (published in this "*Journal*," vol. v., p. 233) says that "from Daniel, who went to Kilnacluney [he meant Kilnaglory], in Barrett's Country, are de-

¹²See Cal. State Papers, 1586—1588, page 110—"An order against Jenkyn Conway on behalf of Owen Mac Teig Mergeach, 8th Sept., 1585." Jenkyn Conway was a lieutenant of horse to the Kerry "undertakers," and a very grasping and aggressive member of their class.

scended the O'Mahonys of Brosna." That statement is one of the author's numerous errors¹³ about Kerry tribal history. He seems not to have known that Kilnaglory was in Co. Cork.¹⁴

Seán, the eighth son of Tadhg O'Mahony. Regarding his posterity more numerous records are available. Some of his descendants became conspicuous personages in Kerry County history. He was the ancestor of the families of (1) Dunloe Castle, (2) Dromore Castle, (3) Dromadisert, in Magonihy, and Kilmeedy Castle, in Drishane, including one Co. Cork family, that of the present writer.

Seán, according to the Irish MS. already quoted, had two sons, "Donchadh and Seán Og." Donchadh (or Denis) must have been the owner of a considerable amount of land, for, as will be shown presently, his younger brother was possessed of five ploughlands. Among Donchadh's sons, according to the above MS. authority, was John, who became known as "John of Dunloe," and was the founder of the families of Dunloe and Dromore. John married Honora, daughter of Maurice O'Connell of Caherbarnagh. In 1665 the townland of Dunloe passed to him as the marriage portion of his second wife,¹⁵ Gillen, daughter of O'Sullivan Mor. The Castle of Dunloe (built by the Fitzgeralds in 1215) had been partly destroyed by Ormond in 1570 ("Annals Four M."), who left standing only three walls of the flanking tower. The Castle and townland are mentioned in the Inquisition of O'Sullivan Mor in 1623, who bequeathed "all his lands" to his son, Donal, by whom they were bequeathed to his successor, the O'Sullivan Mor of the year 1665 (Kerry Inquisitions, R. I. Acad., and note to "History of the Kingdom of Kerry"). John Mahony rendered the tower habitable by building an east wall, very distinguishable (it is said) at the present day from its companions of the thirteenth century. He died in 1706, leaving two sons by his first wife, Daniel and Denis. Of the latter there is nothing to be recorded except that the Dromore estate was acquired for him in 1686, and that he became the founder of the Dromore line.

Daniel, the elder, inherited his father's Castle and estate. He was a remarkable personage, who wielded a power throughout Kerry, in the very midnight of the Penal Laws, which can only be explained by his possessing an exceptional force of character. He greatly extended his

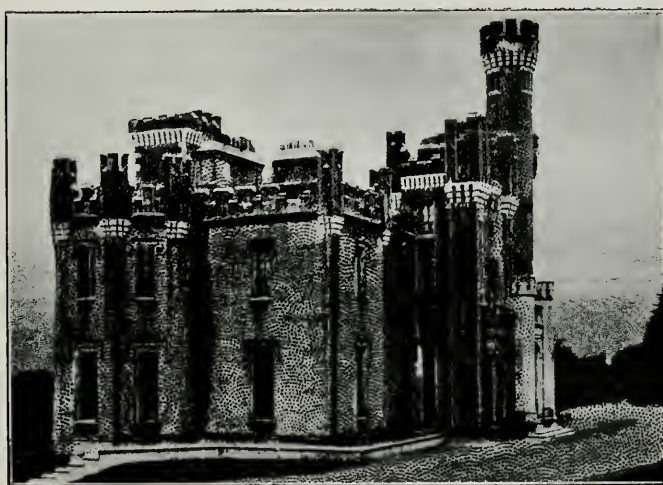
¹³The Editor of that MS., Rev. Fr. Jarlath, allowed this statement to pass without correction. Having in the Preface indicated some his author's mistakes, he inserted in the notes several errors of his own. Here is one: "Neither the O'Mahonys nor the O'Donoghues were in Kerry until the middle of the eleventh century (!) when they were driven out of Cork by the Anglo-Norman invasion!" In another passage, attempting a brief history of the O'Donoghues, he confounds those of Killarney with the O'Donoghues of Eoghanact Cashel, a totally different clan, who died out in the eleventh century. See note by the present writer, this "Journal," Oct.—Dec., 1907, p. 192.

¹⁴As the present History is not intended to come down beyond the beginning of the 18th century, see, for a further account of the Brosna-Kilmorna branch, Burke's "Landed Gentry." Mr. J. O'Mahony, Brosna, belongs to this branch.

¹⁵The above account of this "John of Dunloe" is sustained by (1) a Dromore pedigree of 1730, made out for one of the family who married Count Conway in France; (2) a Dunloe pedigree (in the Herald Office) of Colonel William O'Mahony of the Austrian Service. Both documents (the former more fully) trace John of Dunloe to Denis, son of John, son of Teig Mergeach O'Mahony. They thus refute the fiction, of quite recent origin, that the first Mahony of Dunloe was some unknown "Daniel from Cork" who married the widow of an imaginary Sughrue, owner of Dunloe. See also Sir Ross O'Connell's notes to "Life of the Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade," p. 50, vol. i.



DUNLOE CASTLE,



DROMORE CASTLE,

possessions by obtaining middle interests from the English absentees who had got large grant of confiscated land; he states in an extant letter¹⁶ that he paid to them head rents amounting to £1,500 a year—equivalent to three or four times that amount of money in our time. Thinking that Irish Catholics had suffered quite enough for the Stuarts, he “renounced the Pretender,” and then applied for and obtained permission to keep arms, under shelter of which personal concession he armed his numerous retainers.¹⁷ He applied his resources systematically to thwart the execution of the penal laws. The following is an interesting extract from Miss Hickson’s “Old Kerry Records”:—“Daniel of Dunloe, as he was popularly called, troubled himself little about the rival merits of the claimants to the crown of England, his ambition being to maintain his own supremacy in Dunkerron, Magunihy, and Iveragh, and to keep out the intruding Palatines. He was an uncompromising Catholic,¹⁸ but not an unkindly neighbour to the Elizabethan settlers, with some of whom he was connected by marriage. The Chief of Dunloe used every stratagem to defeat the Act of 1661, which made “Papists” liable to “quit rents,” an impost granted to Cromwellian soldiers and adventurers. Kennedy, a quit rent collector, had dispossessed Donogh McSweeney, an ancient proprietor, and a whisper from the dispossessed McSweeney went forth to Donal of Dunloe, and all the power of that redoubtable chieftain was brought to bear on Kennedy. Kennedy got a petition drawn up to the Privy Council, Dublin, “from an unknown friend.” The mysterious appeal is in the Bermingham Tower: “The humble address and representation of the loyal subjects in the Barony of Magonihy sheweth that Daniel Mahony of Dunloe hath for several years made himself great and powerful, that he hath four thousand tenants ready at all times by day and by night to do his will, that he lives in a Castle very strongly fortified, the strongest hould except Ross Castle in the County; that he and his mob of faïresses (sic) are so dreaded for his mighty power that noe papiste in the kingdom hath the like. That he hath one hundred a year worth of concealed lands belonging to the Crown, that he impedeth the collection of quit rents, hearth money, &c., a wilful man¹⁹ without conscience, very powerful for his strength of men.”

No action having been taken by the Dublin Castle authorities, a signed petition was forwarded containing substantially the same statements. “Since the Capitulation of Limerick, the said lands have been used by Daniel Mahony of Dunloe and by his father, John, deceased, and those deriving under them, without paying one farthing to the Crown. Daniel

¹⁶See Miss Hickson’s “Old Kerry Records.”

¹⁷The permission was withdrawn after a few years. See “List of Roman Catholics allowed to retain arms in the year 1711, et seq.” (Dublin Record Office). The renunciation of the Stuarts moved the Jacobite poet O’Rahilly to class Donal among the “upstarts”—the planters and their followers. See his prose satire (MS., R.I.A.).

¹⁸The families of Dunloe, Castlequin, Cullinagh, and Dromdisert remained Catholic, as did the Kilmorna family until 1792.

¹⁹The memorialist was hardly an ideal authority on questions of conscience. “A farmer of the taxes,” says Macaulay (“Hist. England,” vol. i., p. 137), “is, of all creditors, proverbially the most rapacious.” And he quotes an old ballad on the Hearth Money Collectors:—

“There is not an old dame in ten, and go search the nation thro’,
That if you speak of Chimney men will not spare a curse or two.”

hath three thousand followers and subjects, all of the Pope's Religion." The signed appeal had no more effect than the anonymous one.

Mr. James Anthony Froude was greatly impressed by Daniel's anomalous power and the weakness of the Government which it implied: "The great peninsulas of Dunkerron and Iveragh and the other properties were held in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, on a lease of lives renewable for ever, by Daniel or Donnell Mahony of Dunloe Castle. The Viceroy might be supreme in Dublin Castle, but Daniel Mahony was sovereign in Kerry. . . . It is hardly necessary to say that a Dublin Lord Lieutenant in 1717 was no match for Daniel and his four thousand. The memorialists submitted to their fate and to the Ruler that the genius of Ireland had set over them.²⁰ . . . The Castle was best pleased when it got least trouble. Daniel Mahony might rule in Kerry, Martin in Connemara, and O'Donoghue threaten a bench of magistrates with 500 rapparees, but the Government desired to hear as little as they might about administrative weakness."—(Froude's "The English in Ireland," vol. i., pp. 452, 454, 477).

Daniel died in 1729.²¹ An account of those who succeeded him down to the present century would be beyond the scope of this work, the purpose of which is historical rather than genealogical.

We shall now return to the junior branch of Daniel's line—that of Seán Og (his grandfather's brother). We find the Seán Og of the Irish MSS. (frequently quoted *supra*) mentioned in a document in the Record Office as "John Mahony, Gentleman, possessor of the townlands of Dromadisart, Duneen, Knockanlibeare and Tuarnanonagh, who died in the year 1674." This John, according to the Irish MSS., had two sons, Teig and Dermot.

Teig, the eldest son, married about the year 1660, and continued to reside with his father at Droumadisert. In 1668 the Duke of Ormond, who had claimed for some years to be the immediate owner of several large estates in Kerry, finding his title to anything more than a head rent questioned, surrendered his claim in the following notice: "For Colonel Mac Fynine, Lieut.-Col. McGillicuddy, and Mr. Teig Mahony, or either of them:—I do hereby give notice that I waive the possession of the lands enjoyed by me in the Baronys of Dunkerron and Glanerought, and shall expect hereafter to receive only the chiefries due to me out of them." It would seem from this that Teig had been associated with the two others above-named in the agency of those estates.

On his father's death in 1642, he succeeded to the ownership of the ploughlands above enumerated. In the same year he acquired the Castle of Kilmeedy with adjoining land²² in Drishane, Co. Cork, and some time after, five additional ploughlands in Kerry. Cut off from the chance of fee simple ownership, he set himself to accumulate as many middle interests as possible, like his cousin-german, John of Dunloe. In 1686 his

²⁰Here follow the quotations above given from the memorials to the Castle.

²¹For his characteristic compliment to his daughter Joanna and singular bequest to her, see Sir Ross O'Connell, p. 51, *op. citat.*

²²In Title Deed No. 78, lodged with Trustees of Forfeited Estates, 1700, Teig is said to have been "entitled to said lands under the Acts of Settlement, in right of his wife, as coheir and proprietor." She and her two sisters, in right of whom their husbands had a claim to the adjoining ploughlands, were McCarthys of Drishane, descendants of the family that built the Castle in 1445.

son John married Ellen, daughter of Stephen Rice. We get an interesting glimpse of bygone social arrangements in the ²³"Marriage Articles between Teig O'Mahony of Droumadisert, Co. Kerry, Gent., and his son John, of the first part, and Stephen Rice, Gent., of Castlemore, Co. Kerry, and his daughter Ellen, of the second part." It is agreed (1) "That John shall marry Ellen according to the Rites of our Holy Mother ye Catholic Church. (2) That Stephen shall pay Teig, in trust for John, Ninety head of cow cattle and 8 mares and garrans, viz., 20 cows, 20 heifers and 20 yearlings, on 16th of May next, and the 8 mares and garrans on the same date, and 10 heifers and 20 yearlings on 16th May, 1688. (3) That Teig Mahony and his wife, Sheely, have good title to the Castle and plowland of East Kilmeedy, in Drishane parish, in Co. Cork, which they are to convey to trustees for said John and Ellen for their lives. (4) That Teig has a lease for years of the 2 plowlands of Droumadisert, the house on which, with the 5 gneeves of land next the house, is to descend to John and Ellen on death of Teig and Sheely. (5) That Teig has a lease of the 3 plowlands of Cahirdianisk and of Kilewedane, Cnockanawlgort, and Cluondonigane, of which he shall assign to John the two plowlands of Cnockanawlgort and Cluonidonegane."

Besides the lands thus settled on him and those which he inherited at the death of his father (who was alive in 1700), the same John O'Mahony acquired some ploughlands "near Sliabh Mís and near the Maine," according to ²⁴contemporary evidence. In 1700 he lodged his "Claims" and Title Deeds (still preserved) with the "Trustees of Forfeited Estates." In the claims it was stated that "Claimant is adjudged to be within the Articles of Limerick." But the Articles of Limerick were soon after treated as waste paper by the Dublin Parliament. He was deprived of Kilmeedy Castle and lands, which were sold,²⁵ with all the rest of Muskerry, in Chichester House, Dublin, in 1703. He succeeded in retaining most of his ploughlands in Kerry, some of which are bequeathed in his eldest son's will in 1727. He probably did not live many years after 1700, for he is said to have ²⁶"died in the prime of life." He was the subject of a really splendid Elegy composed by the poet O'Rahilly, who dilates on his lineal descent from Cian, his wealth and prosperity, and his generosity. O'Rahilly mentions specially his patron's fondness for the study of ancient Irish History—"Splendid student of the Annals of Erin." The Rev. P. S. Dinneen, M.A., the Editor of O'Rahilly, expressed the opinion (which the present writer shared for some time) that the subject of the poem was "John, the father of Daniel of Dunloe." But O'Rahilly's apostrophe—"O John, son of Teig, grandson of Seán Og," is decisive against that conjecture, and clearly describes the John of whom we have

²³No. 86 among title deeds lodged in Chichester House, 1700.

²⁴O'Rahilly's Elegy (Dinneen's Edition). The title of the Elegy is "Δι' ὅν τ' ἑδᾶσαν ἡμεῖς τὴν υἱὸν Ἰάκωβον." The Editor translated "Mergeach" in his first edition "The Rusty"; in his second edition, "The freckled," being unaware that it was not a personal but a hereditary appellation, and should therefore, according to usage, be left untranslated, as, e.g., "Florence MacCarthy Reagh," not Florence MacCarthy "the swarthy." The appellation "Mergeach" for the Kerry branch was discontinued shortly after the date of this poem, and became quite forgotten.

²⁵The following is the extract from the "Book of Sales of Confiscated Estates, Barony of Muskerry":—"Kilmeedy—Castle and ploughland, 501 acres, John Mahony."

²⁶O'Rahilly's Elegy.

been giving an account. From this poem it might be inferred that he married, secondly, a daughter of an O'Donoghue of Glenflesk. His son, another John, of Droumadisert, made a will in 1727,²⁷ appointing as one of the Executors his cousin, Daniel of Dunloe.

Returning now to Dermot, brother of Teig aforesaid (Irish MS. 23. E. 26. R.I.A.)—he was doubtless provided with one or more townlands by his father, who was able to bestow so many on the eldest son (*vid. supra*). Dermot had five sons, the eldest of whom was Conor (otherwise Cornelius). In 1689 when Tyrconnell, James II.'s Lord Lieutenant, issued a general call to arms, fifty regiments of foot were hastily raised throughout Ireland. In Magonihy, Kerry, a company was raised largely composed of members of the O'Mahony gens; it was joined by three sons of Dermot O'Mahony, and the eldest, Cornelius, obtained the rank of Lieutenant.²⁸ He and his company formed part of General Justin MacCarthy's army which besieged and took Bandon in 1689. He went through the entire campaign, in which his two brothers were killed; their lands in Kerry were, of course, confiscated. At the attack on Bandon he had saved the life of a Williamite gentleman named Hungerford, who, at the conclusion of the war, conveyed to him a liberal offer of a tract of land near the Round Tower of Kinneigh, Co. Cork, which he accepted. He died about 1728, and was buried in Kinneigh graveyard. From some feat of strength he acquired the agnomen of "Laidher," which descended to his posterity; a Kinelmeky family, south of the Bandon river, had a similar name, but was not related to him. His grandson and namesake, who, according to his headstone at Kinneigh, died in 1797, aged 74 years, preserved his sword and uniform, and some portions of the latter still remain. He communicated these particulars to his son John (died 1806), the grandfather of the writer of this history.

Hitherto no mention has been made of a family which at the close of the seventeenth century and the earlier portion of the eighteenth became the most distinguished of the name, viz., the family of Colonel Dermot O'Mahony and his brother, General Count Daniel. In "Burke's Commoners," and in Sir Ross O'Connell's notes to the "Life of the Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade" (vol. i., p. 51) it is suggested or assumed, but not expressly asserted, that the family belonged to the Dunloe²⁹ and Dromore line. But this was an erroneous conjecture. The family did not descend from Dermot Og, the founder of the Kerry branch, through any of the sons of Tadhg O'Mahony, the Head of the branch in the middle of the sixteenth century, but through his brother Donal. This appears from the pedigree in the Herald Office made out in 1712 for the son of Colonel

²⁷In the list of Wills in the Record Office we find "Daniel Mahony of Dromadisert, gent., 1762," and "Timothy of Dromadisert, gent., 1823." This family may be still in existence.

²⁸Readers of D'Alton's "King James's Army List" know, or should know, that the "List" is formed from very imperfect records—perfect ones could not be expected in a time of such confusion. Of some regiments only the names of two or three officers are preserved. See notes to "Life of Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade." O'Callaghan ("Hist. of the Brigades"), who made further researches, says: "Among the officers of King James during the War of the Revolution were several gentlemen of the O'Mahonys," p. 204.

²⁹The same opinion commended itself, at first, to the present writer, and was expressed by him in a note written for the new edition of O'Rahilly. But after the discovery of the Herald Office document that opinion became untenable.

Dermod, John, Captain in the Army of the Low Countries." The applicant must have supplied the names of his ancestors of the Kerry Branch, leaving to the Herald Office to add on the names of those of more remote centuries. He must at all events have known the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather, and the names which he gave—"Dermod and Daniel, sons of John, son of Daniel, son of Dermod," &c., constitute a succession that does not occur in the genealogy of the descendants of Tadhg, in MSS. 23. E. 26, and 23. G. 22. (R.I.A.) and others.

OFFICERS OF THE NAME OF O'MAHONY IN THE IRISH BRIGADE.

As was shown in a previous page, the first "Irish Brigade" was in the service of the King of Spain. The exodus of nobles and clansmen commenced in 1603, and continued down to the Cromwellian period. Sir William Petty says that "the chiefest of the nobility and gentry took conditions from the King of Spain, and transported thither forty thousand of the most active, spirited men." The names of some of the "O'Mahons of Ivagha" who received Commissions in the Spanish army have been already given from the report of an English spy, but, of course, the Spanish records would contain many more. In the time of James II. the tendency was towards France. The following is an extract from O'Callaghan's "History of the Irish Brigade":—"Amongst the officers of King James during the War of the Revolution in Ireland were several gentlemen of the O'Mahonys, including two brothers, Dermod and Daniel. Dermod, as Colonel,³⁰ was distinguished at Aughrim and Limerick. Daniel, having attained the rank of Captain in the Irish Foot Guards, accompanied the National Army to France, where he obtained the post of Major in the Regiment of Dillon." In the War of the Spanish succession he had a career of extraordinary brilliancy, and became known in French military history as "le fameux Mahoni." His defence of Cremona in February, 1702, was the foundation of his fame on the Continent. North Italy, then subject to Spain, became that year "the cockpit" of the contending nations. Marshal De Villeroi, a Court favourite, personally brave but no tactician, was sent in command of the French and Spanish forces to oppose the great Imperialist General, Prince Eugene of Savoy—"impar congressus Achilli." Cremona, situate on the left bank of the Po, then in the Spanish Dominions, was Villeroi's headquarters. It was strongly fortified by a wall pierced by five gates, one of which, leading to a bridge of boats over the river, was known as the Po gate. Confiding in the strength of the fortifications, the French neglected ordinary precautions. By a skilfully arranged plan, rendered possible by the co-operation of an Austrian³¹ partisan in Cremona, Prince Eugene, during the course of ten

³⁰Col. Dermod is erroneously said to have fallen at Aughrim. He is mentioned by MacGeoghegan in the list of troops lately arrived in France after the Treaty of Limerick, and new modelled in 1695. He died in Italy in 1710, according to the Herald Office document above referred to. He is not heard of in active service in the War of the Spanish Succession, having probably retired through wounds or ill health.

³¹Cassioi, the rector of a Church. There must have been many Austrian partizans in Cremona, as 500 of Eugene's picked men had been secreted there before the surprise.

days, introduced, through a disused aqueduct or sewer that passed under the walls, a sufficient force to seize the next gate, and open another that had been walled up. Before dawn on Feb. 1st, 1702, after a night march of eighteen miles he poured in his cavalry through one gate and his infantry through the other, and had occupied the principal portion of the city before the French were awakened from sleep. De Villeroi and several of his officers were captured. For the completion of Eugene's plan it was necessary to seize the Po gate and keep it open for Vaudemont's five thousand men, who were to cross by the bridge of boats from the right side of the river at a stated hour. To execute this task, Baron De Mercy with his cuirassiers galloped at once from the gate of St. Margaret by which they had entered the city. Not far from the Po gate were the barracks of the Irish Regiments of Dillon and Burke, so named from their first Colonels. The former was commanded by Major Daniel O'Mahony in the absence of Colonel Lally, father of Lally Tollendal; the latter by Lieut.-Col. Wauchop. The Major, whose quarters were in the centre of the town, succeeded with difficulty in reaching his men, who turned out half-dressed. The two regiments were at once led to the Po gate, Wauchop, as senior officer, at first taking command. There the small "guard of the gate," consisting of an Irish Captain and thirty-six men, had been for a considerable time, by well-directed volleys, holding in check the Austrian cuirassiers and infantry. The combat that ensued lasted until near ten o'clock, a.m., when the Irish Brigade was completely victorious. Wauchop had been wounded, and the command of both battalions now devolved on Major O'Mahony, who thus got "the opportunity of his life." He was ordered by Count Revel to fight his way to the Mantua gate, and in that march the chief exploit of the day was performed. Baron Freiberg disposed his cuirassiers so as to attack the Brigade "in front, flank, and rear." But the Irish commander, promptly "arranging his men so as to face their assailants, on every side, received the onset of the Imperialists with an intrepidity that astonished them." The Cuirassiers were utterly routed, but another corps of them soon after came on and, headed by Freiberg in person, broke through the ranks of the regiment of Dillon, but after a desperate struggle they too were repulsed and Freiberg killed.³² Having complied with his orders, the Major

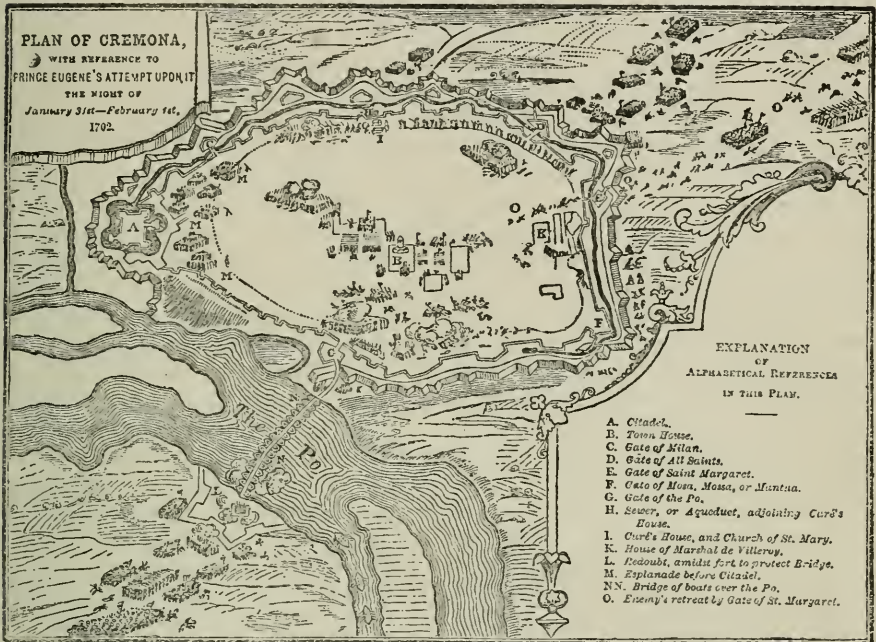
French writers call these Cremonese traitors, but most Italians looked on the proceeding from a different standpoint. They were very anti-French, as Louis XIV. says in a letter to Vendome.

³²The above account is graphically as well as accurately summarized by Thomas Davis in his ballad, "The Surprise of Cremona, 1702":—

From Milan to Cremona Duke Villeroy rode,
And soft are the beds in his royal abode;
In billet and barrack the garrison sleep,
And loose is the watch which the sentinels keep.

Through gate, street and square with his keen cavaliers,
A flood through a gully, Count Merci careers.
They ride without getting or giving a blow,
Nor halt till they gaze on the gate of the Po.
"Surrender the gate!"—but a volley replied,
For a handful of Irish were posted inside.

took on himself the responsibility of returning to the Po gate. "He judged correctly," says the historian of the Brigade, "for a fresh body of Austrian troops had just arrived. Stationing himself by the battery, he played the artillery at the building which the enemy had occupied, and swept their troops away whenever they showed themselves."



From Quincy's *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.*

But in thro' St. Margaret's the Austrians pour,
And billet and barrack are ruddy with gore;
Unarmed and naked the soldiers are slain—
There's an enemy's gauntlet on Villeroy's rein.

Here and there thro' the City, some readier band
For honour and safety, undauntedly stand.
At the head of the regiments of Dillon and Burke
Is Major O'Mahony, fierce as a Turk.
His sabre is flashing—the Major is dress'd,
But muskets and shirts are the clothes of the rest!
Yet they rushed to the ramparts, the clocks have tolled ten,
And Count Merci retreats with the half of his men.
"In on them!" said Friedberg—and Dillon is broke,
Like forest-flowers crushed by the fall of the oak;
Thro' the naked battalions the cuirassiers go:—
But the man, not the dress, makes the soldier, I trow.
Upon them with grapple, with bay'net, and ball,
Like wolves upon gaze-hounds, the Irishmen fall—
Black Friedberg is slain by O'Mahony's steel,
And back from the bullets the cuirassiers reel."

"Down to our times," says O'Callaghan ("Hist. Irish Brigade") "the piper of Munster has performed the air of 'The day we beat the Germans at Cremona.' O'Rahilly's 'Illusive Vision' distinctly points at the hero of Cremona as the battle cock of Rathlean, whom he hopes to see coming over to the assistance of the old King."

He performed a service even more important than these exploits, which is attested by the Duc De S. Simon. The French Commander-in-Chief had unaccountably neglected to order the destruction of the Po bridge. In an interval between the combats "Mahoni went personally to him and persuaded him to send orders to De Praslin to destroy the bridge," by which Vaudement might have attacked and taken the Po gate. On seeing from the Cathedral tower the destruction of the bridge, Eugene decided to retreat. In the evening Count Revel sat down to write the despatch for the King, and conferred on the Irish officer, the real rescuer of Cremona, the honour of taking it to Paris. It contained the following:—" . . . Les Regiments Irlandais ont fait de merveilles; M. De Mahoni, qui porte la presente en pourra rendre un bon compte a votre Majesté." St. Simon, who knew the Major, and described him as "un officier Irlandais de beaucoup d'esprit et de valeur," gives a graphic account of the excitement caused by the news at Marly on February 9th. He was in the ante-chamber, which was crowded with courtiers, while the Major was closeted with the King for over an hour. "On coming out, the King declared that he had never heard so good an account of a military event; told as it was with great clearness and an agreeable manner. He said that he had promoted Major O'Mahony to the rank of Colonel, and bestowed on him a pension and a present of a thousand louis d'or for the expenses of his journey."³³ The rest of this celebrated officer's career was spent in Spain, he having, by the desire of Louis XIV., entered the service of the King's grandson, Philip V., with the rank of Brigadier-General. Philip loaded him with honours in return for signal services that (it is not too much to say) secured him on his throne. In 1705 he appointed him Major-General, in 1706, military Governor of Cartagena, and soon after Lieut.-General. At the battle of Almanza, O'Mahony led the Irish regiment of Dragoons, and contributed greatly to the victory. In the campaign of 1710 he was appointed a Count of Castile. At the close of that year the important battle of Villaviciosa was fought between the Duke De Vendome and Stahrenberg, "the Second Eugene." King Philip was present by the side of his celebrated Marshal. A portion of his cavalry reserve was under General Val de Canas and the other portion under Count O'Mahony, and to these two Generals belongs the credit of turning an expected defeat into a decisive victory. Philip V. wrote on the day after the action to Louis XIV.: "Marshal Vendome, seeing that our centre gave way, and that our cavalry made no impression on the enemy's right, considered it necessary to retire to Torrija, and gave orders for that purpose, but as we were going there, we were informed that Val de Canas and Mahoni with the cavalry they had under their orders charged the enemy's infantry and handled it very severely, which caused us to march back with the rest of the army," &c. No more is said of Val de Canas, but De Bellerive, an eyewitness, wrote: "Ere night set in, the brave Comte De Mahoni, having no cannon to fire on the retreating troops, invested them on one side,

³³"Le roi prit plaisir a s'entendre sur Mahoni et dit qu'il n'avait jamais oui personne rendre une si bonne compte, ni avec tante de nettete d'esprit et meme agreablement."—"Memoires de St. Simon." Dangeau and St. Simon considered that the Surprise and the Rescue of Cremona were the two most extraordinary events in military history. Voltaire used similar language. The current saying was that "Cremona was taken by a miracle and saved by a greater miracle."

and then sent a drummer to Stahrenberg summoning him to surrender." Stahrenberg kept the drummer until next day, and escaped during the night aided by a dense fog, but had to abandon to the Irish General his "700 mules laden with all the plunder of Castile." "The King," says the same author, was so satisfied with the Comte De Mahoni that he appointed him a Commander of the Military Order of Sant Iago, with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand livres." He was the only one of the Irish Generals in the French or in the Spanish service that held an independent command, as at Alcoy in Valentia, with six thousand men in 1708, and in Sicily, which he saved for Spain in the same year. His contemporary, De Belle-rive, the French military historian already quoted, summed up his career as follows: "His whole life has been a continual chain of dangerous combats, bold attacks, and honourable retreats." He died at Ocana, in Spain, in January, 1714. His body must have been transferred for interment to Madrid, only forty miles distant. There is no record of his interment in Ocana, as the writer is informed by Don Vicente Lopez Martino, Parroco de Ocana, who has obligingly examined the records of the four parish churches of that town for 1714.

He married Cecilia, daughter of George Weld, of an old Catholic family in Dorsetshire, and had two sons (neither of whom left male descendants):—

1. James Joseph, born 1699; the sponsor at his baptism was James Francis Edward, called by his adherents James III., and by his enemies "The Old Pretender." James Joseph inherited his father's title of Count of Castile, rose to the rank of Colonel in the Spanish Army, and of Lieutenant-General in the army of Naples, then under Spain. He died in 1757. His only child, Cecilia,³⁴ married Prince Justiniani, and was thus the grandmother of the late Prince Justiniani Bandini, Lord Newburgh (died Aug., 1908, aged ninety years).

2. Demetrius (Dermod) succeeded to his brother's title of Count. He had risen to the rank of Brigadier-General in the Spanish Army. About 1760 he was appointed Ambassador of Spain to the Court of Vienna. It is a striking evidence of his merits that he should have obtained so distinguished a position, coveted,³⁵ no doubt, by the chief Grandees of Spain. The following extract from the (English) "Annual Register," 1766, affords evidence of his attachment to the land of his fathers. "On the 17th of this month His Excellency Count O'Mahony, Ambassador from Spain to the Court of Vienna, gave a grand entertainment in honour of St. Patrick, to which were invited all persons of condition that were of Irish descent, being himself a descendant of an illustrious family of that kingdom. Among many others, were present Count Lacy, President of the Council of War; the Generals O'Donnel, McGuire, O'Kelly, Browne, Plunket, and McElligott, four Chiefs of the Grand Cross, two governors, several knights military, and six staff officers, four Privy Councillors, with the principal officers of State; who, to show their respect for the Irish nation, wore crosses in honour of the day, as did the entire Court."

³⁴Through her mother, Lady Anne Clifford, Cecilia acquired and transmitted a right to the Earldom of Newburgh. See Burke's "Peerage," art. Earl of Newburgh.

³⁵That some jealousy was felt by the Spaniards at Irish promotions, see in Bouterwek's "Hist. of Spanish Literature," Bohn's ed., p. 387.

An original document signed by General Count Daniel, when Colonel, has been found by the present writer among some papers relating to the Brigade, in the R. I. Acad. Library. From this document his autograph

*Fait au camp de Cardia ce 17^e octobre
1703
De Mahony*

is here reproduced; it will be observed that the French "De" is used to represent the Irish "O." His son's Bookplate is also reproduced,³⁶ in which the ancient Irish Motto of the Clan, "Lasair romhainn a buaidh," was inaccurately printed by the Italian or Spanish engraver.

Besides the foregoing, only three O'Mahonys appear in some published lists of the Irish Brigade in the Spanish Service. "Don Daniel, Cadet, 1715; Don Patricio, 1729; Don Jaime, 1803." But the records in the Archives of Simancas, examined at the writer's request by a Spanish gentleman (from 1700 to 1755, not as yet from 1600—1700), have been found to contain the following entries:—

"1. Cornelio O'Mahony, Capitan de Dragones en el Regimento de Bandoma O'Mahony, A.D. 1717.

2. Don Diego O'Mahony, Irlandes, Capitan de Caballos, 1723.

3. Don Dionisio De Mahony, Alferez (Ensign), 1733.

4. Don Luis Francisco Mahony, Coronel (Colonel), agregado al Regim. Infanteria de Aragon, 1736.

5. Hoja de servicios del Coronel Conde De Mahony, hasta el anno 1721. (Record of Colonel Count James Joseph, vid. supra).

6. Hoja de servicios del Coronel y Brigadier Don Demetrio De Mahony, hasta el fin de Decembre, 1755. Afterwards Ambassador to Vienna. Count in 1757)."

Cornelius O'Mahony, Colonel, who died in 1776, appointing the ambassador his executor, already mentioned in the account of the Uí Flon Luadh Sub-Sept.

In the Austrian Service, Lieut.-Col. William O'Mahony, born in 1760

In the Army of Holland—John, Captain, 1721; Cornelius, Captain, 1723.

"The sons of Colonel Dermot are held in great esteem in Holland," writes the author of the "Kingdom of Kerry," their contemporary.

In the French Service, the exhaustive De La Ponce MSS. mention the following:—

1. Derby, born in Ireland 1718 (son of Daniel of Dunloe), Colonel in 1778.

2. Timothy, born in 1713, Capt. in 1745, died 1769. Regiment de Walsh.

3. Jeremie, Lieutenant, 1789.

4. Denis, Lieut. in 1783, Reg. de Dillon.

5. Kean, same Regiment, Lieut., 1787.

³⁶The copy of the Book-plate was kindly supplied by Mr. Peirce G. Mahony, B.L.

6. Bartlemy, born 1749, died 1819, a descendant of Donal na Tubrid O'Mahony, Lieut.-General and Count. See many particulars about him in Mrs. O'Connell's "Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade."

7. John Francis, son of Col. Derby, and grandson of Daniel of Dunloe, Chef De Battalion 1807. Being a strong Royalist, he is unfavourably referred to by his republican countryman Miles Byrne in his Memoirs. Colonel in 1812 in the Irish Regiment. Colonel in Regt. of the Line (41st) in 1819. Count in 1815. Brigadier (Mestre de Camp) in 1823. He was alive in the time of Louis Philippe, and was succeeded by his son, Count Ernest. A Count O'Mahony who resides in Rue Dauphinée, Orleans, is now the chief representative of his name on the Continent.

ADDENDUM.

The statement in Cusack's "Hist. of Kerry," and in O'Harte's compilation, that the dispossessed Chief of Kinelmeky took refuge in Kerry, and a similar statement made by another writer about the owner of Rosbrin Castle in Elizabeth's time, are quite unfounded.

THE END.

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